

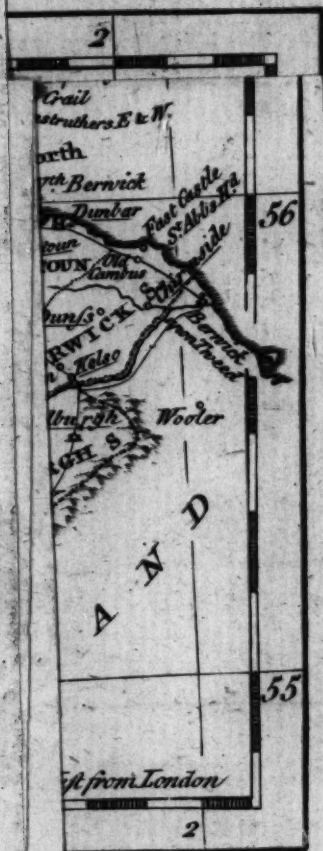


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SCOTLAND
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THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,

FROM THE
INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR,
TO THE
DISSOLUTION of the Present PARLIAMENT.

ADORNED WITH PLATES.

IN FOURTEEN VOLUMES.

By JOSEPH COLLYER,
Author of the NEW SYSTEM OF GEOGRAPHY,
in Two Volumes Folio.

VOL. IV.

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MDCCCLXXIV.



S. Wale del.

*The Conference between W.^m Wallace and
Bruce, after the decisive Battle of Falkirk,
fought July 22^d 1298.*

Published as the Act directs, 1 Apr 1774 by J. Johnson, S^t Pauls Ch Y^e



T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
E N G L A N D.



E D W A R D I.



MIDST this general rout, Wallace, by his military skill, and presence of mind, kept his troops from dispersing, and having crossed the Carren, he marched leisurely on the bank of that small river, which protected him from the enemy. While he was proceeding along, young Bruce, who had already given proofs of his aspiring genius, but had hitherto served in the English army, distinguished the Scottish hero by the height of his stature, and his majestic port; and calling to him, desired a short conference. He then told Wallace, that he was engaged in a fruitless and ruinous enter-
A 2 prize,

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prize, and strove to bend his inflexible mind to submit to superior power and fortune. He insisted on the inequality and rashness of a contest between a weak state, deprived of its head, and convulsed by intestine discord, and a powerful nation, under the command of the ablest and most martial prince of the age, who was possessed of every resource, and could, at pleasure, either protract the war, or carry it on with activity and vigour: if his motive for perseverance proceeded from his love of his country, his obstinacy would produce no other effect than that of prolonging her misery; if his views were directed to his own ambition and private grandeur, he ought to be sensible, from past experience, that, even if Edward should withdraw his armies, such a number of nobles, proud of the dignity of their families, would never stoop to submit to his personal merit, whose superiority they were less willing to consider as an object of admiration, than as an injury and reproach to themselves.

Wallace, in answer to these exhortations, said, That if he had hitherto acted alone in the character of the champion of his country, it was only because no second, or what he much rather wished, no leader, had yet appeared to place himself in that honourable station: that the nobility alone were to blame, and chiefly Bruce himself, who, uniting dignity of family to personal merit, had deserted the post, which the powerful calls of nature and fortune invited him to assume: that the Scots, with such a head, would, by their unanimity and
concord,

concord, surmount the principal difficulty under which they at present laboured; and notwithstanding their late loss, might hope to oppose, with success, the utmost power and abilities of Edward: that heaven itself could not present a more glorious earthly prize before the eyes, either of virtue or ambition, than the joining in one object, the defence of national independence with the acquisition of royalty; and that as the interest of his country could never be promoted with the sacrifice of liberty, he himself was fully resolved to prolong, to the utmost of his power, not her misery, but her freedom; and was desirous that his own life, as well as the existence of the nation, might be brought to a period, when they could no otherwise be preserved, than by receiving the chains of a haughty conqueror.

The generous mind of Bruce was struck with the gallantry of these sentiments, though delivered by an enemy in arms; and the flame was conveyed from the breast of one hero to that of the other. Repenting of his engagements with Edward, he lifted up his eyes to the honourable path Wallace pointed out to him, and secretly resolved to lay hold of the first opportunity of embracing the cause of his oppressed country.

Notwithstanding Edward had obtained this great victory; the reduction of Scotland was not yet complete. After the English army had reduced the southern provinces, the want of provisions obliged them to retire, in 1299, and to leave the northern counties in the hands

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of the natives. Enraged at their late defeat, the Scots still maintained the contest for liberty; but being fully sensible of the great inferiority of their strength, they endeavoured to procure assistance from France, but in vain.

At length, in 1302, the Scots chose John Cummin for their regent, and were so far from being satisfied with maintaining their independence in the north, they made incursions into the counties to the south, that were possessed by Edward. John de Segrave, whom that prince had left guardian of Scotland, marched with an army to oppose them, and taking up his quarters at Roslin near Edinburgh, sent out his forces in three divisions, to provide themselves with forage and subsistence from the neighbourhood. The regent and Sir Simon Fraser suddenly surprized one party, and immediately routed and pursued them with great slaughter. The few that escaped fled to the second division, with the news of the approach of the enemy: the soldiers ran to their colours, and were instantly led to revenge the death of their countrymen. The Scots, elated with the victory they had already acquired, rushed upon them with great intrepidity: and the English animated, by the eagerness of revenge, maintained a brave resistance: the victory was long undecided, but was at last in favour of the Scots, who broke the English, and chased them to the third division, which was advancing in a hasty march, to support their companions. Many of the Scots had been slain in the two first actions; most of them were wounded, and

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E D W A R D I.

all were greatly fatigued; yet were they so transported by their success, that they suddenly fell into order, and the followers of their camp arming themselves with the weapons of their slaughtered enemies, they rushed with fury on the ranks of the dismayed English, routed and drove them out of the field. Thus the Scots obtained three victories in one day, the fame of which, added to the favourable disposition of the people, soon enabled the regent to take all the fortresses in the south.

It now became necessary for Edward to renew his conquest, and he prepared for it, with the utmost vigour. He assembled a considerable fleet, and a great army; and entered Scotland with a force which the enemy were unable to resist, while the fleet sailing along the coast, secured the army from the danger of famine, and thus enabled them to march from one extremity of Scotland to the other, ravaging the country and reducing every fortress, while all the nobility, and even Cummin, the regent, submitted to Edward.

The king, however, thought, that while Wallace lived, this his favourite conquest was still exposed to danger, and therefore made use of every art to get him in his power. At last, in 1305, that brave patriot, who, amidst the universal slavery of his countrymen, was determined to maintain his freedom, was betrayed into the hands of Edward, by Sir John Monteith his pretended friend, whom he had informed of the place in which he concealed himself. The king, whose own natural brave-

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ry ought to have induced him to respect that quality in an enemy, was so exasperated at some acts of violence which Wallace had committed during the heat of the war, that he resolved to over-awe the Scots by an example of unjust severity, and ordered him to be carried in chains to London. He proceeded thither through prodigious crowds, assembled to see the man, whose name had filled the whole country with terror, and the day after his arrival was brought to his trial in Westminster-hall, where he was placed upon a high chair, and in derision crowned with laurel. On his being accused of treason, he pleaded not guilty, refused to own the jurisdiction of the court; and affirmed, that it was equally absurd and unjust to charge him with treason against a prince, whose sovereignty he had never acknowledged: that he was a free born native of an independent nation, and as he had never sworn fealty to Edward, he was not subject to the laws of England. But his plea was over-ruled by the judges, and he was found guilty of treason, and sentenced to be executed on Tower-hill, which was performed on the 23d of August, in the same year. This was the unworthy fate of a patriot and hero, who had for many years defended the liberties of his country, by his intrepidity and conduct, against a public and oppressive enemy.

But Edward's barbarous policy did not answer the purpose for which it was designed. The Scots displeased at the innovations introduced into their laws and government, by the sword of their conqueror,

queror, were now enraged at the injustice and cruelty with which their brave defender was treated; and all the envy which had attended that gallant commander during his life, being at once buried in his grave, he was universally considered as the champion of Scotland. The people, stimulated by resentment, were every where disposed to take arms against the English government; and soon a new and more fortunate leader appeared, who, after some struggles, conducted them to victory and to liberty.

Robert Bruce, the son of that Robert who had been one of the competitors for the crown, and to whom Wallace had communicated the spirit of liberty, had, at his father's death, succeeded to all his pretensions; when the decease of John Baliol, about the same time in France, with the captivity of Edward that prince's eldest son, seemed to open a way for that young nobleman to exert his abilities in the deliverance of his country in order to ascend the throne. He had observed that the Scots, when the right to their crown had failed in the males of the ancient royal family, had been divided into nearly equal parties, between the houses of Baliol and Bruce, and that every thing which had since happened, had concurred to wean them from the former. He, therefore, hoped that the Scots, who, from the want of a leader, had been so long exposed to the oppressions of their enemies, would unanimously resort to his standard, and seat him on the vacant throne. Inflamed by the fervor of youth,

youth, and animated by his natural courage, he directed his views to the glory of the enterprize, overlooking the difficulties and dangers which lay in his way. The miseries and oppressions which he had seen his countrymen suffer in their unequal contest, their repeated defeats and misfortunes, were to him so many incentives to bring them relief, and enable them to revenge the oppressions of their conqueror. At last, he opened his mind to John Cummin, a nobleman of great power, with whom he was strictly intimate, and found him, as he imagined he should, of the same sentiments; and appeared ready to throw off, on the first favourable opportunity, the usurped dominion of the English. But on the departure of Bruce, who attended Edward to London, Cummin, who had either dissembled with him, or resolved to make a merit of betraying him, revealed the secret to the king.

Edward did not chuse to commit Bruce to prison immediately, because he designed to seize his three brothers, who resided in Scotland, at the same time; and satisfied himself with secretly setting spies upon him, and ordering all his motions to be strictly watched. A nobleman of Edward's court, who was a sincere friend to Bruce, was informed of his danger; but not daring, while he was encompassed by so many watchful eyes, to have any conversation with him, he contrived to give him warning, that he should endeavour to make his escape. For that purpose, he sent him, by a servant, a pair of gilt spurs and a purse

purse of gold, which he pretended to have borrowed from him ; leaving it to his friend's sagacity, to discover the meaning. Bruce took the hint, and contrived the means of his escape. As the ground was then covered with snow, he is said to have had the precaution to order his horses to be shod with their shoes turned backwards, to deceive those who might track his paths over the open fields, or cross roads, through which he intended to travel. In a few days he arrived at Dumfries, in Anandale, the principal seat of his family interest ; and had the happiness to find there a great number of the nobility of Scotland, and among the rest John Cummin his treacherous friend.

The noblemen who were present, were astonished at seeing him, and more still, on his discovering the object of his journey. He informed them, that he was come to live or die with them, in defence of the liberties of his country, and hoped, with their assistance, to redeem the Scots from the indignities they had so long suffered from the tyranny of their imperious masters : that the sacrifice of the just claims of his family was the first injury which had prepared the way for the slavery that ensued ; and by resuming them, he afforded the joyful prospect of recovering their ancient and hereditary independence, from the fraudulent usurper : that all their past misfortunes had solely proceeded from their disunion ; and they would soon appear no less formidable than they anciently were to their enemies, if they would

would now follow the standard of their right-ful prince, who knew no medium between death and victory : that their valour and their mountains, which, during so many ages, had protected their liberty from all the efforts of the Roman empire, would still, if they were worthy of their generous ancestors, be sufficient to defend them against the English tyrant ; that it did not become men, born to the most ancient independence, known in Europe, to submit to the will of any masters ; but that it was doubly fatal to receive those, who being irritated by such persevering opposition, and inflamed with the highest animosity, would never think themselves secure in their usurped dominion, till they had exterminated all the ancient nobility, and even all the ancient inhabitants ; and that being reduced to this dreadful extremity, it were better for them to die at once, like brave men, with swords in their hands, than always to dread, and at last to undergo, the fate of the brave but unfortunate Wallace, whose merit, in the generous defence of his country, was at last rewarded by the hands of an English executioner.

The spirit with which Bruce uttered this speech, the boldness of the sentiments, the novelty of his declaration, added to the graces of his youth and manly deportment, roused all those principles of indignation and revenge, with which the minds of his audience had long been secretly actuated. The nobles instantly declared their unanimous resolution to exert all their endeavours, to second the cou-

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rage of Bruce, in asserting his and their unalienable rights against the common oppressors. Cumming alone, who had secretly taken his measures with the king, opposed this general resolution; and representing the superior power of England, governed by a prince of the most extraordinary vigour and abilities, endeavoured to set before them the certain destruction they had reason to expect, should they again violate their oaths of fealty, and shake off their allegiance to the victorious Edward.

Bruce, who had been already informed of his treachery, foresaw the certain failure of all his schemes of ambition and glory, from the opposition and treachery of so powerful a leader; and on the dissolution of the assembly, followed Cummin; attacked him in the cloisters of the Grey friers; ran him through the body, and left him for dead. Soon after, Sir Thomas Kirkpatric, one of Bruce's friends, asked him if the traitor was slain? "I believe so," replied Bruce. "And is that a matter, returned Kirkpatric, to be left to conjecture?" "I will secure him." Then drawing his dagger, he ran to Cummin, and stabbed him to the heart. This action, which would be justly condemned in our present times, was, in that age, considered as an effort of manly vigour, and just policy. Hence the family of Kirkpatric, says Mr. Hume, took for the crest of their arms, which they still wear, a hand with a bloody dagger; and chose these words for their motto, *I will secure him*; the expression

sion of their ancestor in executing that violent action.

Cummin's murder affixed the seal to this conspiracy: these Scotch nobles had now no other resource, but to shake off the English yoke, or to perish in the attempt: the genius of the nation revived; and Bruce appearing in different quarters, animated his partizans, who taking arms, attacked with success, the dispersed forces of the English; obtained the possession of many castles; and Bruce, having extended his authority over most parts of the kingdom, was solemnly crowned by the bishop of St. Andrews, in the abby of Scone. The English were again driven out of the kingdom, except such as remained in the strong fortresses they still kept in their hands; and Edward had the vexation to find, that the Scotch whom he had twice conquered, and who had been often defeated, must be again subdued, if ever he expected to regain the possession of that kingdom.

Edward, not discouraged by this unexpected event, sent Aymer de Valence with a considerable force into Scotland; and that general, attacking Bruce by surprize at Methven in Perthshire, threw his army into disorder, and totally defeated him. Bruce, fighting with the most heroic courage, was thrice dismounted, and as often recovered himself; but being at last obliged to yield to fortune, took shelter in the western isles. The earl of Athol, Sir Christopher Seton, and Sir Simon Fraser, were taken

taken prisoners; and by Edward's order, executed as rebels.

The king now vowed revenge against the whole nation of the Scots, who appeared incorrigible in their aversion to his government. He assembled a great army; marched to the north; and was preparing to enter that kingdom with full assurance of success, with the resolution of making that defenceless people the victims of his resentment, when he unexpectedly was seized with a dysentery, and died near Carlisle; enjoining his son and successor, with his last breath, to prosecute the enterprize, and never to desist, till Scotland was entirely subdued. He expired on the 7th of July, 1307, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign, extremely hated by his neighbours, and as much respected and beloved by his own subjects.

By his first wife, Eleanor of Castile, he had four sons, but Edward, his heir and successor, was the only one that survived him. By her he had also eleven daughters, most of whom died in their infancy: of the survivors, Jane was married, first to the earl of Gloucester, and after his decease, to Ralph de Monthermer; Margaret espoused John duke of Brabant: Elizabeth married, first, John earl of Holland, and afterwards the earl of Hereford; and Mary became a nun in the convent of Ambresbury. By his second wife, Margaret of France, he had two sons and a daughter; Thomas, created earl of Norfolk and marshal of England;

and Edward, whom his brother, when king, created earl of Kent. The princess died in her infancy.

Edward was of a majestic figure; tall in stature, comely in his features, with sharp piercing black eyes; and in general, his limbs were well proportioned, except in the length and smallness of his legs, whence he derived the name of Long-shanks; but notwithstanding this, he was well qualified to captivate the populace by his exterior appearance, and to gain the approbation of men of sense, by his more solid virtues. In penetration and understanding, he equalled the greatest monarchs who have sat on the English throne: he was cool, sagacious, and circumspect. The enterprizes finished by this prince, and the projects which he formed, and brought near to a conclusion, were more regularly conducted, and more conducive to the solid interests of his kingdom, than those undertaken in any proceeding reign. He restored authority to the government, disordered by the weakness of his father; fully annexed the principality of Wales to his crown, and took the most prudent and vigorous methods for reducing Scotland, to the same condition. These conquests of countries to which he had no just and legal claim, must have been attended with great advantage to England; since by uniting the whole island under one head, he would preserve it from numerous invasions, and the depredations of princes on the borders of his kingdom. The remotest parts of the known world, resounded with

with the fame of his courage; and all over Europe, he was considered as the flower of chivalry.

The principal advantage England reaped from his reign, does him great honour. This was the correction, extension, and establishment of the laws, which he not only maintained in great vigour, but left greatly improved to posterity. This has justly gained him the title of The English Justinian. The numerous statutes passed in his reign, relating to the chief points of jurisprudence, became constant and durable laws that still subsist; while the regular order maintained in his administration afforded an opportunity for the common law to refine itself; and brought the judges to obtain a certainty in their determinations. Sir Matthew Hale, on mentioning the sudden improvement of the English laws, during this reign, asserts that, till his own time, they had not received any considerable improvement.

Edward abolished the office of chief justiciary, which he thought possessed too much power; and completed the division of the court of exchequer, into four distinct courts. He established the office of justice of peace; repressed robberies and disorders; encouraged trade, by giving merchants an easy method of recovering their debts; and by the vigour and wisdom of his administration, every thing took a new face.

Yet he himself was guilty of many acts of tyranny and oppression. His seizing all the plate of monasteries and churches, even be-

fore he had any quarrel with the clergy : the violent plunder and banishment of the Jews ; his laying his hand on all the wool and leather in the kingdom ; his subjecting every man possessed of twenty pounds a year to military service, though not bound to it by his tenure ; and his reluctance to confirm the Great Charter, are evident proofs of his arbitrary disposition, and, that while he took care to make his subjects do justice to each other, he thought himself above the restraints of law and equity. This indeed was chiefly in the beginning of his reign ; for he afterwards governed, in general, with a just regard to the privileges of his people. However, in several instances, he shewed the want of that magnanimity, which is one of the brightest gems that can adorn a crown, and sullied his glory by some instances of cruelty, among which was his unworthy treatment of Wallace. Edward condemned him as a traitor : “ Henry II. would have revered him as a hero.”

MISCELLANEOUS OBSERVATIONS.

In some of the former reigns, the taxes had partly consisted of scutages, or sums to exempt the vassals of the crown from their attendance in military services, and partly in such a proportional part of moveables as was granted by parliament : in this reign scutages were entirely dropped, and the king had, from time to time, duties upon exportation and importation granted him by parliament. The most considerable was generally upon wool.

Edward

Edward granted a charter of protection and privileges to foreign merchants; and ascertained the customs and duties they were, in return, to pay on merchandize imported and exported. Among the rest, they were to pay a duty of two shillings on each ton of wine imported, besides the old duty; and forty pence on each pack of wool exported, besides half a mark, which was the old duty. He promised them protection: allowed them a jury on trials, consisting of half natives and half foreigners; but did not free them from a hardship they had long laboured under, of making every foreign merchant answerable for the debts and even for the crimes of their countrymen.

In 1296, the mercantile society, called The Merchant Adventurers, had its first rise, and was instituted for the improvement of the woollen manufacture, and for sending woollen cloth abroad, particularly to Antwerp.

The tribute paid to Rome, of a thousand marks a year to which king John had subjected the kingdom, in doing homage to the pope, had, since his time, been pretty regularly paid; but the vassalage was constantly denied, and that court, for fear of giving offence, had not much insisted upon it. This payment was not called by the name of tribute, but by that of census. This money Edward appears to have always paid with great reluctance, whence he suffered the arrears to run at one time for six years, and at another for eleven: but princes in that age, continually standing in need of the good offices of the pope, for dispensations
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or other favours, the court of Rome, sooner or later, found means to obtain the money. The raising of first fruits was also begun in this reign, to which the king seems to have unwarily consented. In 1307, the pope having collected much money in England, the king enjoined the nuncio to export it in bills of exchange.

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EDWARD II.

C H A P. III.

E D W A R D II.

He neglects the Conquest of Scotland. His weak Passion for Gavaston, whom the Barons Sentence to be banished. He is recalled by the King. The Barons assume the Government, and again banish him. The King again recalls him. Gavaston taken and beheaded. The War with Scotland. The King places his Affections on Spencer. That Favourite banished by the Parliament. The earl of Lancaster taken and beheaded. Queen Isabella conspires against the King. The elder Spencer and his Son hanged. The King dethroned and murdered. His Character. Miscellaneous Incidents.

THE favourable opinion the people of England had entertained of young Edward, prevented their being fully sensible of the loss they sustained by the death of his father. They knew not that the glory of the English crown was now dimmed, and all its brightness vanished; they therefore hastened with alacrity to swear allegiance to his son. Edward II. who was now, in 1307, in the twenty-third year of his age, had an agreeable figure, and was of a mild and gentle disposition; whence tranquility and happiness were expected from his government: but these hopes were soon blasted, and he
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was found to be entirely unqualified for wielding the sceptre.

Robert Bruce, notwithstanding his army had been dispersed, and he himself obliged to seek shelter in the western isles, did not long remain inactive; but before the late king's death, had sallied from his retreat, assembled his followers, and, by surprize, obtained an important advantage over the English forces, commanded by Aymer de Valence. This brought him great reinforcements, and he obtained so considerable an army, that it would have afforded young Edward sufficient glory if he had obtained a victory over him. But the vast preparations made by his father, were of no use. For instead of pursuing the path which lay before him, he marched only a little way into Scotland; and being as incapable, as he was averse to all application to serious business, immediately turned back and disbanded his army. Hence every one saw that the sceptre was fallen into such feeble hands, as rendered it contemptible.

This measure was followed by another, which completed the contempt the people had already begun to conceive of him. Piers Gavaston, a Gascon knight, who had served the king with great honour, was rewarded by his son's obtaining an establishment in the prince of Wales's family; and this young man had gained his master's affections by his agreeable behaviour, and his supplying him with all the frivolous amusements which suited his capacity. He was distinguished by the elegance of his person,

son, his fine mein, and easy carriage; he was even celebrated both for his performance in all warlike and manly exercises, and for his sallies of wit. By these qualifications he soon gained such an entire ascendancy over the weak mind of Edward, that the late king, apprehending the ill consequences of this attachment, had banished him, and before he died, made his son promise that he would never recall him. But young Edward had no sooner ascended the throne, than imagining that he might do what he pleased, sent for Gavaston, and, even before his arrival, presented him with the whole earldom of Cornwall, which, by the death of Edmond, the son of Richard, king of the Romans, had escheated to the crown. Not satisfied with conferring on him those possessions which would have been a sufficient provision for a prince of the blood, he daily lavished on him fresh honours and riches; caused him to be married to his own niece, the earl of Gloucester's sister, and appeared to enjoy no pleasure from his possessing the throne, but as it put it in his power to exalt the object of his fond affections to the highest splendor. Among his other favours, he made him a present of 32,000*l.* which the late king had reserved for the support of a hundred and forty knights, who had engaged to carry his heart to Jerusalem.

It is no wonder that the barons were greatly offended at the favours thus lavished on a favourite of inferior birth, and a foreigner; and their indignation was soon justified by Gavaston's conduct. Instead of endeavouring, by
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his moderation and modesty, to disarm envy, he, with the utmost ostentation, displayed his power and influence; was vain-glorious, profuse and rapacious; and so elated with his high fortune, that he neglected to provide such friends as might enable him to support his sudden grandeur. He took delight in all tournaments, in foiling the English nobility by his superior address, and constantly, in his conversation, made them the butts of his raillery. The king, by the advice of his favourite, removed from their offices the chancellor, treasurer, judges, and barons of the exchequer, and filled their places with his followers. Langton, bishop of Litchfield was imprisoned, and the temporalities of his see sequestered, till an enquiry could be made into his conduct, as treasurer to the late king, while Gavaston being appointed great chamberlain and secretary of state, governed the kingdom as prime minister. Hence it is no wonder that his enemies daily multiplied, and nothing was wanting but time to cement their union.

It was now necessary for the king to go to France, to do homage for the dutchy of Guienne, and to marry the princess Isabella; for though she had been long contracted to him, their union had been delayed by unexpected accidents. Edward, on his departure, left his minion, guardian of the realm, with greater powers than had been usually conferred; and when he returned with his queen, renewed all his fondness for his favourite. Isabella finding that not only her husband's capacity required
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that he should be governed, but that his temper inclined him to it, thought that she was best intitled to the office ; and entertained a mortal hatred against the man who had supplanted her. She was therefore, glad to see the nobles uniting against Gavaston, while he perceiving that she hated him, wantonly insulted and provoked her.

Among those who mortally hated the favourite, was Thomas earl of Lancaster, cousin german to the king, who was the richest and most powerful subject in England ; and soon became the head of that party of the nobles, who desired the depression of this insolent foreigner. These bound themselves by an oath to expel Gavaston. A parliament being summoned at Westminster in 1308, Lancaster and his party came thither, with an armed retinue ; insisted on the banishment of Gavaston, and demanded, that he should abjure the realm before midsummer ; even the bishops pronounced him excommunicated, should he remain any longer in the kingdom. Edward was obliged, though with unspeakable reluctance, to give up his favourite. But, instead of removing all umbrage by sending him to Gascony, the place of his birth, he appointed him lord lieutenant of Ireland ; and to comfort him for his absence, assigned him the whole revenue of that kingdom for his subsistence ; attended him in person to Bristol, in his way thither ; and before his departure, conferred on him new lands and honours, both in Gascony and England. Ga-

vaſton however, being naturally brave, and poſſeſſed of warlike talents, acquitted himſelf honourably in his government, and ſubdued ſome Iriſh rebels.

In the mean time, the king being unhappy in the abſence of his favourite, made uſe of every expedient to remove the oppoſition which the barons made to his return; and, as if this had been the chief object of his government, conferred the high office of hereditary ſtewart on the earl of Lancaſter: by other conceſſions, he bought off his father-in-law, the earl of Lincoln; and by civilities, grants, and promiſes, mollified earl Warrenne: Gaſton's inſolence being no longer ſeen, became leſs the object of general reſentment; and Edward, finding every thing prepared to answer his purpoſe, applied to the court of Rome, and obtained a diſpenſation from an oath which the barons had compelled Gaſton to take, that he would for ever abjure the realm.

The king then ſent for Gaſton, and went himſelf to Cheſter to receive him, on his firſt landing from Ireland. He flew into his arms with tranſports of joy, and having a little before obtained the conſent of the barons in parliament to his being reſtored, ſet no bounds to his extravagant fondneſs.

Gaſton now forgetting every thing that was paſſed, and becoming blind to thoſe cauſes which had raiſed the barons reſentment againſt him, reſumed the ſame inſolence and oſtentation. With a view to ſecure a ſtrong party in his favour, he deſteſted a number of people
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of their places. and bestowed them on his adherents, by which means he excited the implacable hatred of all whom he deprived of their employments, without strengthening his own interest. This revived the animosity of the nation: the nobles were shocked at his presumption, and the earl of Lancaster resolved to be revenged for some private injuries he suffered from him. Gavaston laughed at their dissatisfaction, expressed the utmost contempt for the resentment of his enemies; and the first nobleman in the kingdom became the subject of his ridicule.

The barons now renewed their consultations; and in order to unite their party, successively appointed certain tournaments, to give their partizans an opportunity to assemble; but all these meetings were prohibited by proclamation. The king summoned a parliament to meet at York; but no business was transacted, because none of the barons came to it. Another was summoned to meet at the same place, but they still declined appearing, under the pretence of dreading the treachery of Gavaston. The king now desired his favourite to withdraw, and adjourned the parliament to meet at Westminster; but being apprehensive of some violence, sent writs to the earls of Lancaster, Warwick, Hereford, and Pembroke, forbidding them to appear in arms; and the earls of Surry, Richmond, Lincoln, and Gloucester, undertook for their safety. The discontented barons however, appeared with numerous retinues of armed followers, resolving to compel

the king to redress the grievances of the nation. Edward had, contrary to law, plundered his subjects, in order to supply the necessities of his household. They, therefore, represented the damages sustained by those whose effects had been seized; expatiated upon the miseries of the nation, impoverished by the king's prodigality, and harrassed by the most oppressive measures: they compared the flourishing state of the kingdom in the reign of his father, with the contemptible condition to which it was then reduced; and insisted upon the king's empowering them to elect twelve persons, who should, till the term of Michaelmas in the following year, have authority to enact ordinances for the regulation of the king's household, and for the government of the kingdom; and that the ordinances should thenceforth, and for ever, have the force of laws; also that the ordainers should be allowed to form associations among themselves and their friends, for their strict and regular observance. The king, at first, scrupled to comply with this demand, but at last thought proper to submit.

The above ordinances were extremely laudible: they required sheriffs to be men of property; abolished the practice of issuing privy seals for the suspension of justice; prohibited the adulteration of the coin; restrained the practice of purveyance; excluded foreigners from the office of farming the revenue; ordered all payments to be regularly made unto the exchequer; revoked all the grants of the crown: but what principally grieved the king
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was the removal of evil counsellors, by which many persons were, by name, excluded from every office of power and profit; and Gavaston himself, for ever banished the king's dominions, under the penalty of being declared a public enemy: it was also ordained that for the future, all the considerable posts, both in the household the law, the revenue, and the army, should be filled by the barons in parliament; and that the power of making war, or assembling the military tenants of the crown, should no longer be solely vested in the king, nor be exercised without the consent of the nobility. Edward, after allowing a parliamentary sanction to be given to these articles, secretly protested against them; declaring, that since the commission was only granted for the making of ordinances for the advantage of the king and kingdom, such articles as should be found prejudicial to both, were to be held as not ratified and confirmed.

Edward had, therefore, no sooner removed from York, than being no longer under the terror of the barons, he invited Gavaston to return from Flanders, whither he had retreated; and declaring that he had been illegally banished, in opposition to the laws of the kingdom, openly restored him to his former authority and credit.

The barons, provoked by the king thus violating his engagements, renewed their confederacies against this odious favourite, with redoubled zeal. The earl of Lancaster was at the head of this alliance: Guy, earl of War-

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wick, entered into it with great warmth : Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, and Humphrey Bohun, earl of Hereford, the constable, added to it a great accession of power and interest ; even earl Warrenne, who had hitherto supported the royal cause, joined the confederates ; and Robert de Winchelsey, archbishop of Canterbury, being of the same party, both the clergy and the people declared against the king and his foreign favourite. The earl of Lancaster instantly raising an army, marched to York, from whence the king had already removed to Newcastle : he then marched thither in pursuit of him ; and Edward had but just time to make his escape to Tinmouth, where he embarked on board a ship, and sailed with Gavaston to Scarborough. He then left his minion in that fortress, which being well supplied with provisions, was thought impregnable. The king, after having proceeded for some time by sea, landed at Knareborough, and went to York, in hopes of levying an army sufficient to support him, against the enemies of his favourite.

In the mean time, Pembroke was sent by the confederates, to besiege the castle of Scarborough ; when Gavaston being sensible of his being hated by the garrison, was obliged to capitulate ; and on the 19th of May, 1312, surrendered himself prisoner, having first stipulated, that he should remain in Pembroke's hands for two months ; that during that time, endeavours should be mutually used to procure a general accommodation, that on condition, the
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terms proposed by the barons were not accepted, the castle should be restored to him in the same condition as that in which he left it; and that the earl of Pembroke, and Henry Piercy, should pledge their lands for fulfilling these conditions.

Pembroke having now the public enemy in his power, carried him to Didington near Banbury, where he left him with a feeble guard for his protection. Soon after, Warwick attacked the castle, and the guards refusing to make any resistance, Gavaston was delivered up to him, and conducted to Warwick castle. Thither the earls of Lancaster, Hereford, and Arundel, instantly repaired; and without paying the least regard to the forms of law, or the military capitulation, ordered the obnoxious favourite's head to be struck off, by the hands of the executioner; which was done on the 1st of July 1312.

The king, upon Gavaston's capitulation, had left York, and retired northward to Berwick, where receiving the news of the death of his minion, he burst into the most violent transports of grief, and suffered such agitations, as might have endangered his life, had not his mind been supported by the prospect of revenge. His grief became loud and impetuous; he denounced vengeance against the murderers of his favourite; and instantly set out for London, and made preparations for war in all parts of the kingdom. Having summoned a parliament to meet in August, he repaired to Dover, where he fortified the castle, received the oath

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of allegiance from the barons of the Cinque Ports, and demanded succours from France; then returning to London, assembled a considerable body of forces. At the same time, he summoned all who were possessed of forty pounds in land, to come and receive the honour of knighthood, and appointed commissioners to treat about the ordinances at the ensuing parliament. However, the malecontents, not appearing on the day appointed, orders were issued to prohibit their raising forces. But the barons, proclaiming tournaments in different counties, levied such a number of troops, as exceeded the royal army. The earl of Lancaster, at the head of these forces, advanced towards London; and a civil war must have followed, had not the earls of Richmond and Gloucester, with the pope's nuncio and the French ambassador, interposed their good offices. A treaty was set on foot by their mediation, and a safe conduct granted to the earl of Hereford, and the lords Clifford and Botetout, to appear at court, in order to treat about an accommodation.

In the mean time, the queen being delivered at Windsor, of Edward her eldest son, the king was so overjoyed, that he seemed to have forgot the loss of Gavaston; and sent to inform the barons, that he would consent to any thing they could reasonably ask. They demanded that all the ordinances, without exception, should be confirmed, and that a full pardon should be granted for the death of that traitor Gavaston, for thus they called him. The king,

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at first, rejected this condition ; but the treaty was at last concluded on these terms : that the barons should come before the king in Westminster-hall, and ask pardon on their knees ; that all Gavaston's effects, which had been seized at Newcastle, should be restored : that they and their adherents should have a full pardon for every thing that was past, under the sanction of parliament : that a like pardon should be granted to that unhappy favourite's friends and adherents ; that the parliament should provide against the barons appearing there in arms with numerous followers ; and that immediately after the pacification, a supply should be granted for carrying on a war with Scotland.

After Gavaston's death, the king became less obnoxious to the public ; and the minds of all men seemed to be much appeased ; as the animosities of faction no longer prevailed, it was hoped that England, now united under the king, would, from thenceforth be able to exert herself with vigour, and chastise all her enemies, particularly the Scots, whose progress filled the nation with the utmost indignation.

We shall now return to the progress made by Robert Bruce, who, after Edward's retreat from Scotland, left the fortresses in which he had hoped to have sheltered his feeble army, if Edward had marched against him ; but finding that he had retired, he supplied his defect of strength by his superior vigour and abilities. He began with chasing lord Argyle and the chief of the Macdowalls from their hills,

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hills, and thus rendered himself entirely master of the highlands. He then marched with success against the Cummins in the low countries of the north, and took the castles of Inverness, Forfar, and Brechin; he then daily obtained some new accession of territory; reconciled the minds of the nobility to his dominions; and enlisted every bold leader under his banner. He was seconded in all his enterprizes by Sir James Douglas, in whom began the greatness and fame of that warlike family: his brother Robert Bruce, distinguished himself by his bravery; and the weak conduct of Edward lessening the terrors of the English power, the Scots, in general, entertained hopes of recovering their independency; and all Scotland, except a few strong fortresses, which Robert wanted the means of attacking, acknowledged his authority.

The Scots were in this situation, when Edward found it necessary to grant them a truce; and this interval Robert successfully employed in confirming his power, and introducing order into the civil government, which had been distracted by wars and factions. The interval was of short duration: the truce, which was but ill observed on both sides, was at length openly violated; and war was resumed with greater fury than ever. Robert, not satisfied with defending himself, made several successful invasions of England; in which he enabled his followers to subsist by the plunder they obtained, and taught them to despise the bravery of those people, which had long filled them
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with apprehensions. At last, Edward roused from his lethargy, had marched into Scotland, when Robert, resolved not to risk too much against an enemy, who greatly exceeded him in number of forces, retired again into the mountains. Edward advanced beyond Edinburgh; but being in want of provisions, and but ill supported by the nobility of England, who were then framing their ordinances, he was soon obliged to return, without having obtained any advantage over the enemy.

At length the apparent union of all parties in England, after the death of Gavaston, by restoring the kingdom to its natural strength, again afforded the prospect of reducing Scotland, and of happily concluding a war, which deeply engaged the interests and passions of the nation. In order therefore to finish this important enterprize at one blow, in 1314, Edward assembled forces from all quarters. He enlisted troops from Flanders and other countries: he summoned the most warlike of his vassals: he sent for a great number of Irish and Welch; and assembling all the military force of England, marched to the frontiers with an army, which is said, by the Scotch writers, to have amounted to 100,000 men.

Robert's army did not exceed 30,000; but being composed of men trained up to war and hardships under his own eye and example, who had determined to conquer or die, in defence of their king and country, might justly, under such a leader, be esteemed formidable to the most numerous body of forces. Stirling
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and Berwick castles were then the only fortresses in Scotland in the hands of the English; and the former had long been besieged by Edward Bruce; Philip de Moubray, the governor, after having made an obstinate defence, was at last forced to capitulate, that if before a certain day, which now drew near, he was not relieved, he would open his gates to the Scots. Hence Robert being sensible that he must here expect the English, chose the field of battle with the utmost skill and prudence; and prepared for their reception. He took his post at Bannockburn near Stirling, where his right flank was guarded by an inaccessible mountain, and his left by a morass: having taken these precautions to prevent his being surrounded, he provided against the superior strength of the English in cavalry, by rendering a rivulet which ran in front almost impassable, by fixing sharp stakes in it, and causing pits to be dug along the banks, and sharp stakes also planted in them; after which he caused those pits to be carefully covered over with turf.

The English arrived in the evening within sight of the Scots; and a bloody conflict instantly ensued between two bodies of cavalry, where Robert, at the head of the Scots, engaged Henry de Bohun, a gentleman of the family of Hereford, in single combat, in sight of the two armies, and at one blow, cleft his adversary's head to the chin; on which the English horse fled to their main body with precipitation. The Scots, animated by what they beheld,

beheld, and glorying in the bravery of their prince, flattered themselves with the hopes of victory : while the English, confident in their numbers, and filled with the thoughts of their past successes, longed for an opportunity of revenge ; and the night, though short, appeared to the impatient combatants extremely tedious. Edward drew out his army early in the morning, and advanced towards the Scots : the wings, consisting of cavalry, being commanded by the earls of Gloucester and Hereford, and the king in person commanding in the center. Bruce formed his army into three lines, and a body of reserve, commanded by Douglas and the lord high steward of Scotland ; and then placed his brother Edward at the head of the right wing, Randolph at that of the left, and he himself commanded the main body.

When the English army was on the point of charging, a dispute arose on the point of honour, between the earls of Gloucester and Hereford ; when the former, impatient of controul, and impelled by the ardour of youth, rushed on to the attack without precaution, and fell among the covered pits, prepared by Bruce for the reception of the English. This threw that body of horse into the utmost disorder, and Gloucester himself was overthrown and slain. Sir James Douglas, who commanded the Scotch cavalry, gave them no leisure to rally, but drove them off the field, and pursued them with great slaughter, in sight of their whole line of infantry. While this ha-

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vock was making in the right wing of the cavalry, the English archers advanced against the right wing of the Scots, and gauled them so extremely with their arrows, that they were upon the point of giving ground; but Douglas and the steward wheeling round with the body of reserve, fell upon the flank of the English, and routed them. In the mean time, the centre, commanded by Edward, moved on against the main body of the Scots, and met with a very warm reception from Bruce, who fought in the front of the line with amazing bravery. The English, who were dispirited at the destruction of their wings, suddenly perceived an army on the heights towards the left, which appeared to be marching leisurely, in order to surround them. This was a number of sumpter boys and waggoners, whom Robert had collected, and by his having furnished them with military standards, gave them the appearance, at a distance, of a formidable body of forces. This stratagem had its effect; for the English being seized with a panic, threw down their arms and fled, and were pursued with great slaughter. Douglas was sent after them with a body of cavalry, which followed Edward, for the space of eighty miles, as far as Dunbar, whose gates were opened to him by the earl of March, and from thence he passed by sea to Berwick. In this pursuit, the king was in such terror, that he made a vow to found a house in Oxford, for twenty-four Carmelites, in case he should escape the danger. The Scots, besides an in-
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estimable booty, took many persons of quality prisoners, and above four hundred gentlemen, whom Robert treated with great humanity; and their ransom brought a new accession of wealth to the victorious army. The English are also said to have lost 20,000 common soldiers.

This great and decisive battle of Bannockburn, was fought on the 25th of June 1314, and secured the independancy of Scotland, by fixing Bruce on the throne. Instead of prosecuting his victory, by immediately ravaging England, while the people were filled with terror and consternation, he proposed conditions of peace*; and both princes appointed commissioners to treat of an accommodation. The conferences were opened at Durham; but the deputies from Scotland, insisting that Edward should acknowledge, as a preliminary article, the title of Robert, and the independence of the crown of Scotland, he refused to treat upon such terms, and a final stop was put to the negotiations.

In the mean time, the king having taken proper measures for the security of Berwick, went to York, where he assembled a parliament to consider of the state of the nation, and to grant him a supply adequate to the present emergency: but the barons, instead of complying with his demands, loudly complained of his breaking the ordinances, and insisting on their being renewed, he was obliged to comply. On

* Walsing. Monach. Maluns.

which, Hugh le Despenfer or Spenfer, who had succeeded Gavaston in the king's affections, was obliged to retire from court; the chancellor, treasurer, sheriffs, and other officers were removed, and their places filled with the confederate barons; and as Edward, from his total incapacity for all serious business, was incapable of holding the reins of government, the earl of Lancaster was placed at the head of the council.

During this session of parliament, Edward Bruce and the earl of Douglas ravaged Northumberland, laid the bishopric of Durham under contributions, and having penetrated into Yorkshire, destroyed Appleby, Kirkwold, and other places: while another party entered the country by Redisdale and Tindale, and ravaged England on that side. The next year, the king of Scotland sent his brother Edward with an army of 6000 men into Ireland. The oppressions the Irish had suffered from the English government having induced them to apply to him for relief, and to offer their crown to Robert, on condition of his expelling the English. He himself followed soon with a more numerous army, and was joined by great numbers of the Irish. But after gaining some considerable advantages, a dreadful famine, which then desolated both Britain and Ireland, reduced the Scotch army to the greatest distress, and Robert was obliged to return to Scotland, with his forces much diminished; but his brother after experiencing a variety of fortune, was defeated
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and slain by the English, in a battle fought near Dundalk.

Hugh Spencer, the king's chief favourite, was a young man of a noble family, born in England, and possessed all the accomplishments of person and address, that were adapted to gain the heart of a weak prince; but was proud, arrogant, rapacious, and destitute of that prudence and moderation necessary to preserve him from the envy of the great. His father, who was of the same name, and by his son's means, had attained great influence over Edward, was a nobleman venerable on account of his age, and had been respected for his wisdom, bravery, and integrity; and by his experience and abilities, was well qualified to be a check upon his son, and a faithful counsellor to his prince. But their affections would admit of no controul. Edward, whose bounty to his favourites was boundless, had given the young Spencer his own niece, one of the daughters of the earl of Gloucester, who was slain at Bannockburn. By his succession to that opulent family, he acquired great possessions in the marches of Wales, and is accused of having behaved with injustice, to the barons of Audley and Ammori, who also married two sisters of the same family. In that neighbourhood was also William de Braouse, lord of Gower, who had settled his estate on John de Moubray, his son-in law; and in case of his failure of issue, had appointed the earl of Hereford to succeed to the barony of Gower. Mowbray, on his father-in-law's decease, im-

mediately took possession of the estate, without the formality of taking livery and seisin from the king; but Spencer, longing for that barony, prevailed on the king to put the rigour of the feudal law in force, to seize it as escheating to the crown, and to confer it upon him. This transaction immediately excited a civil war. The earls of Lancaster and Hereford took arms; and were joined by Audley and Ammori, with all their forces: Roger de Clifford, and the two Rogers de Mortimer, with many others, who had private reasons for being offended at the Spencers, joined the party; and having thus a formidable army, they sent to desire the king to dismiss or confine the young Spencer, threatening, in case of refusal, to renounce their homage and obedience; and to be revenged on that minister, by their own authority. They soon after ravaged the lands of the young Spencer, drove out his cattle, and burned his houses; after which, they proceeded to ravage the estates of Spencer the elder. Having entered into, and signed a formal association, they marched with all their forces to London; and taking their station near that city, sent to desire the banishment of both the Spencers. These noblemen were then absent, employed in different commissions; the father abroad, and the son at sea. The king, therefore, sent for answer, that he was restrained by his coronation oath, from assenting to so illegal a demand, or condemning noblemen who were charged with no crime, nor had any opportunity

ty to justify themselves. Upon receiving this answer, they entered London with their troops; and laid before the parliament, which was then sitting, a charge against the Spencers: and procured against these ministers, a sentence of perpetual exile and attainder. Then requiring from the king an indemnity for these proceedings, they disbanded their army, and separated to their several castles.

These proceedings, in which Edward was obliged to acquiesce, so weakened his authority, that others thought they might treat him with disrespect. The queen soon after being near the castle of Leeds in Kent, which was in the possession of the lord Badlesmere, desired a night's lodging, but this was refused, and some of her attendants were killed. This insult upon a princess who had always lived on good terms with the barons, and who heartily hated the young Spencer, no body justified, and the king, thought that, without offence, he might assemble an army to punish the offender. He did so. None came to the assistance of Badlesmere, and the king took his castle. Having now some forces on foot, Edward ventured to attack the enemies of the two Spencers, and to recal them from banishment, declaring, at the same time, that the sentence passed against them was illegal and unjust, as it was passed without the assent of the prelates, and extorted by violence, from him and the house of lords.

Edward, having now got the start of the barons, an advantage which, in those times,

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was commonly attended with success, he hastily advanced to the marches of Wales, the chief seat of the enemies of his favourite's power, and found them entirely unprepared for resistance. Many of the barons in those parts strove to appease him by their submissions, on which he seized their castles, and caused their persons to be committed to custody. Lancaster, in order to prevent the entire ruin of his party, summoned his vassals, declared that he had entered into an alliance with Scotland, and had received the promise of a reinforcement from that country, under the command of Randolph, earl of Murray and Sir James Douglas. Being soon after joined by the earl of Hereford, he advanced with all his forces against the king, who having assembled an army of 30,000 men, was much superior in number to his enemies.

The earl of Lancaster fixed his station at Burton upon Trent, in order to defend the passage of the river; but his plan of operations being ill concerted, he was obliged to retreat to the north, where he was in hopes of being joined by the Scots. The king pursued him, and his army daily diminished till he got to Burroughbridge, where Sir Andrew Harcle was posted with some forces, to dispute the passage of the river. He was repulsed in an attempt to force his way; the earl of Hereford was slain; the whole army thrown into confusion, and Lancaster himself was seized without resistance, and conducted to the king. The forms of law were, in those times, but little regarded by men in arms; and Lancaster, without

without being tried by the laws of his country, was condemned and led to execution. Edward here treated Lancaster with the same indignities as those which, by his orders, had been executed on Gavaston. He was clothed in a mean dress, placed on a lean horse, without a bridle, and in this manner conducted to an eminence near Pontefract, one of his own castles, and there beheaded on the 23d of March, 1322.

Thus died Thomas, earl of Lancaster, one of the most powerful barons of the kingdom. Badlesmere, Gifford, Cheney, Fleming, Barret, and about eighteen others, were afterwards condemned by a legal trial, and executed: many were confined in prison, and others fled from the kingdom. Some of the king's servants were rewarded out of their estates. Harcla, in particular, received for his services the earldom of Carlisle, and a large estate which he soon after forfeited with his life, for carrying on a treasonable correspondence with the king of Scotland. But the greatest part of the vast estates that fell to the crown, were seized by young Spencer, whose rapacity had no bounds. Hence many of the barons were greatly exasperated at so partial a division of the spoils; and the envy against the king's minion rose to a greater height than ever, which was increased by his usual insolence, enflamed by success, which impelled him to commit many acts of injustice and violence. He became still more the object of the aversion of the people, who always hated him; and all
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the relations of the attainted barons and gentlemen, secretly vowed revenge; which at length became the source of future convulsions.

While things were in this situation, there was little room to hope for success in foreign wars; whence Edward, after having made another fruitless attempt against Scotland, from which he made a dishonourable retreat, found it necessary to conclude all hostilities with that kingdom, by a truce of thirteen years. For, though Robert's title to the crown was not acknowledged in the treaty, he was satisfied with securing the possession of it for so long a time. He had bravely repelled all the attacks of England; had carried the war, both into that kingdom and into Ireland; and his throne was firmly established, not only by force of arms, but in the affection of his people: yet he must naturally feel some inquietude while at war with a kingdom, which, however divided by faction, was greatly superior, both in riches and in the number of the people. At the same time, this truce was the more seasonable for England, as the nation was then threatened with the danger of entering into a war with France.

Charles the Fair, king of France, had some cause for complaint against the king's ministers in Guienne, and seemed resolved to take advantage of Edward's weakness, and under that pretence, to seize all his foreign dominions. After the king had sent an embassy by his brother, the earl of Kent, to no purpose; queen
Isabella

Isabella went to Paris, in order to adjust the difference with her brother, in an amicable manner. Whilst she was carrying on this negotiation, Charles insisted that Edward should appear at his court, and do homage for the countries he possessed in France. But many difficulties occurred which were necessary to be surmounted before his demand could be complied with. Young Spencer, who governed the king as he pleased, had frequently quarrelled with the queen, who aspired to the same influence; though, on her leaving England, she had concealed her resentment; but Spencer, who was well acquainted with her secret sentiments, was very loth to attend his master to Paris, where her credit might expose him to danger. He was no less unwilling to suffer the king to go without him, for fear that, in his absence, the king might fall under other influence; and from the apprehensions of the dangers to which he would be exposed by remaining in England, where he was generally hated, without his royal protector.

These doubts occasioning many difficulties and delays, Isabella in 1325 proposed, that Edward should resign the dominion of Guienne to his son, who was thirteen years of age, and that the young prince should appear at Paris and do homage for it. This expedient, which appeared so happily contrived to remove all difficulties, was instantly embraced: Spencer was delighted: young Edward sent to Paris, and the queen's snare continued unperceived by the English court.

Isabella,

Isabella, on her arrival in France, had found there many English fugitives, who had belonged to the earl of Lancaster's party; and their mutual hatred of Spencer soon created a secret friendship between them and that princess. Among the rest was Roger Mortimer, a powerful baron in the Welch marches; who having been condemned for high treason, had obtained a pardon for life; but was afterwards confined in the tower, where his imprisonment was to be perpetual. He was, however, so happy as to make his escape and get to France; and as he was one of the most considerable persons that was left of the party, and was distinguished by his hatred to Spencer, he easily obtained admission to pay his court to queen Isabella. His youth, with the graces of his person and address, soon engaged her affections; and he at once becoming her confident and counsellor, at last engaged her to sacrifice, for his sake, every sentiment of honour and fidelity to her husband. She then entered with great ardour into all Mortimer's schemes, and having thus artfully got the young prince into her hands, resolved to ruin both the king and his favourite. She prevailed on her brother to join in the same design. The exiled barons daily resorted to her court, where Mortimer lived with her in the utmost intimacy. Edward, on being informed of these alarming circumstances, sent orders for her speedily to return; but she sent him an answer, that she would never set foot in the kingdom, till Spencer was forever removed from his presence and councils.

councils. This declaration procured her great popularity among the English, and covered her intrigues with a veil of decency.

The king endeavoured to put England in a posture of defence; but it was not easy for him, in the present state of his affairs, to maintain a constant force, sufficient to repel an invasion, which he knew not when or where to expect. His brother, the earl of Kent, who was also a weak prince, and was then at Paris, was engaged by Isabella and the king of France, to countenance the invasion, thinking that its sole object was the expulsion of the Spencers, and he prevailed on the earl of Norfolk, his elder brother, to enter secretly into the same design: while the earl of Leicester, the brother and heir of the earl of Lancaster, had too many reasons to hate the Spencers, to refuse his concurrence: the archbishop of Canterbury, and many of the bishops expressed their approbation of these measures: the people in general interested themselves in favour of the same party; and nothing was wanting, but the appearance of the queen and prince, with a small body of foreign troops, to involve in ruin both the king and his favourite.

Though the king of France countenanced and assisted the party, he was unwilling openly to support the queen and the prince against the authority of a husband and a father: Isabella was therefore obliged to seek for an alliance with some other foreign power, from whose dominions she might proceed, in order to put

her intended enterprize in execution. For this purpose she caused a contract of marriage to be formed between prince Edward and Philippa, daughter of the count of Holland and Hainault, and having by that prince's open, and her brother's secret assistance, enlisted near 3000 men in her service, she sailed from Dort, and landed without the least opposition on the coast of Suffolk, with the earl of Kent, who accompanied her, on the twenty-fourth of September, 1326. Soon after her landing, the earls of Norfolk and Leicester, two other princes of the blood, joined her with all their followers: the bishops of Lincoln, Hereford and Ely, added not only the authority of their characters, but brought her their vassals, and even Robert de Watteville, whom the king had sent to oppose her in Suffolk, joined her with all his forces. Isabella, to give the greater appearance of justice to her cause, renewed her declaration, that her only purpose was to deliver the king and kingdom from the tyranny of the Spencers, and of chancellor Baldoc, who was their creature. This specious pretence allured the populace, and the appearance of the prince in her army, made the barons think themselves secure. Hence the weak and irresolute king, being only supported by his ministers, who were generally odious, was unable to withstand the torrent.

Edward, after making a vain attempt to prevail on the citizens of London to espouse his

his cause, proceeded to the west of England, where he flattered himself that he should meet with better success. He had no sooner left the city, than the rage of the populace broke out with the utmost violence against his ministers; and not only plundered, but murdered those who were most obnoxious to them: among these was the bishop of Exeter, whom they seized as he was passing through the streets; beheaded him, and threw his body into the Thames. They obtained the possession of the Tower by surprize, and then engaged in a formal association, to shew no mercy to those who dared to oppose the prince and queen Isabella. The same spirit spread throughout England, and filled the few persons who still adhered to the king with the utmost terror.

The earl of Kent, with the foreign forces under John de Hainault, pursued the king to Bristol; where, finding himself disappointed, with respect to the loyalty of the people in those parts, he passed over into Wales, which he hoped to find uninfected with that general rage which had seized the English. The elder Spencer, who had been created earl of Winchester, was left governor of Bristol castle; but the garrison mutinying against him, delivered him up to his enemies; on which, though he was near ninety years of age, he was condemned without trial, hanged on a gibbet, his body cut to pieces, and thrown to the dogs. After which his head was sent to Winchester, the place from whence he took his title, and there exposed on the top of a pole

to the insults of the populous. So dreadful are the effects of popular rage; justice, humanity, and every generous sentiment are driven before it!

The unhappy Edward was again disappointed, and on his meeting with no assistance from the Welch, took ship for Ireland; but being driven back by contrary winds, endeavoured to conceal himself in the Welch mountains; but being discovered, was delivered up to the earl of Leicester, and confined in Kenilworth castle. His favourite, the young Spencer, who also fell into his enemies hands, was, like his father, executed without trial. The earl of Arundel, who was almost the only nobleman that had continued faithful to the king, at the instigation of Mortimer, was also put to death without trial. Chancellor Baldoc, being a priest, was sent to the bishop of Hereford's palace in London, where he was seized by the populace, and thrown into Newgate; and from the cruel treatment he received soon expired.

The queen now summoned a parliament in the king's name, to meet at Westminster, in which a charge was presented against the king, who was accused of incapacity for government, the neglect of public business, of being swayed by evil counsellors, and of having lost by his misconduct the kingdom of Scotland, and part of Guienne; after which the king was deposed by the parliament, without opposition; and the prince, whom his party had already declared regent, was placed on the throne; which
being

being done, a deputation was sent to Edward at Kenilworth, to require his resignation. This was done on the 13th of January, 1327.

The above deputation was composed of three bishops, two earls, and the same number of barons, abbots and justices, with some representatives of counties and boroughs. The three prelates visited the king before the rest; and after making warm professions of their regard and attachment, exhorted him voluntarily to resign the crown; assuring him, that he would meet with the most honourable treatment, if he complied; but that his refusal would be attended with fatal consequences to his family, as, in that case, the parliament were resolved to place the crown on the head of a stranger. Edward suffered himself to be persuaded; yet when the other deputies entered his apartment, was so affected, that he was ready to faint; but recollecting his spirits, he observed that he was deeply afflicted at the reflection of what his people had suffered from his misconduct, for which he asked pardon of all present; yet, as what was passed could not be recalled, all he could do, was to thank them for suffering his crown to be placed on the head of his eldest son. He then surrendered the regalia, which had been brought thither for that purpose; after which, William Trussel, who acted as procurator for the parliament, renounced, in their name, the homage and fealty they had sworn to Edward.

The deputies, on their return to parliament, having made a report of this transaction, a

peace, and the young king's accession, were proclaimed throughout England; after which, Edward was knighted by John de Hainault, and crowned on the first of February in Westminster abbey, by Walter, archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of seven bishops, and almost all the nobility of the kingdom.

We here see an instance of a wife having deserted her husband, invaded his dominions, and then dethroned him; and of her having made her son an instrument in this unnatural treatment of his father. This soon began to open the eyes of the public, and to make them detest this flagrant infringement of public and private duty; and soon the suspicions of her criminal commerce with Mortimer, and the proofs that daily appeared of this part of her guilt, encreased the general abhorrence which arose in the minds of the people; and her publicly bewailing with tears the king's unhappy fate, was an instance of deceit, incapable of imposing on the most prejudiced of her adherents. In the same proportion as Isabella became the object of the hatred of the people, the dethroned monarch was regarded with pity; and every one became sensible, that his misconduct had been solely owing to his unavoidable weakness and folly. The earl of Leicester, now earl of Lancaster, to whose care the king was committed, was soon affected with these sentiments, and treated his prisoner with the greatest gentleness and humanity; and was even suspected of having entertained a design to restore him to the throne. Edward

was

was therefore taken from him, and delivered over to lord Berkeley, Mautravers, and Gournay, who were alternately entrusted with guarding him, each for a month. While he was in Berkeley's custody, he was treated with a gentleness and respect due to his rank; but when Mautravers and Gournay's turns came, the scene was changed, and he suffered every kind of indignity, as if they intended to break his spirit entirely, and instead of more violent and dangerous methods, make his afflictions the instruments of his murder. It is said that one day, when the king was to be shaved, they ordered dirty water to be brought for that purpose from a ditch, when desiring that it might be changed, and being refused this poor request, he burst into tears, and cried out, that in spite of them he would be shaved with clean and warm water. The impatient Mortimer, thinking this method of dispatching Edward too slow, is said to have secretly sent orders to two keepers, who were devoted to him, instantly to dispatch him; and these ruffians are represented, as having contrived to murder him in the most cruel and barbarous manner. He was then in the custody of lord Berkeley, who being ill, was unable to take particular care of his charge. They therefore went to Berkeley castle, and having got the king in their power, threw him on the bed, held him down violently with a table which they flung upon him, thrust into his fundament a red hot iron, which they inserted through a horn; and though by this expedient the outward marks of violence were

were prevented from being seen, the horrid deed was discovered to all the guards and attendants, by the screams with which the tortured king filled the castle. This dreadful murder of this weak and unhappy prince, was perpetrated on the twenty-first of September, 1327. After which the body was interred in the abbey of St. Peter, in Gloucester.

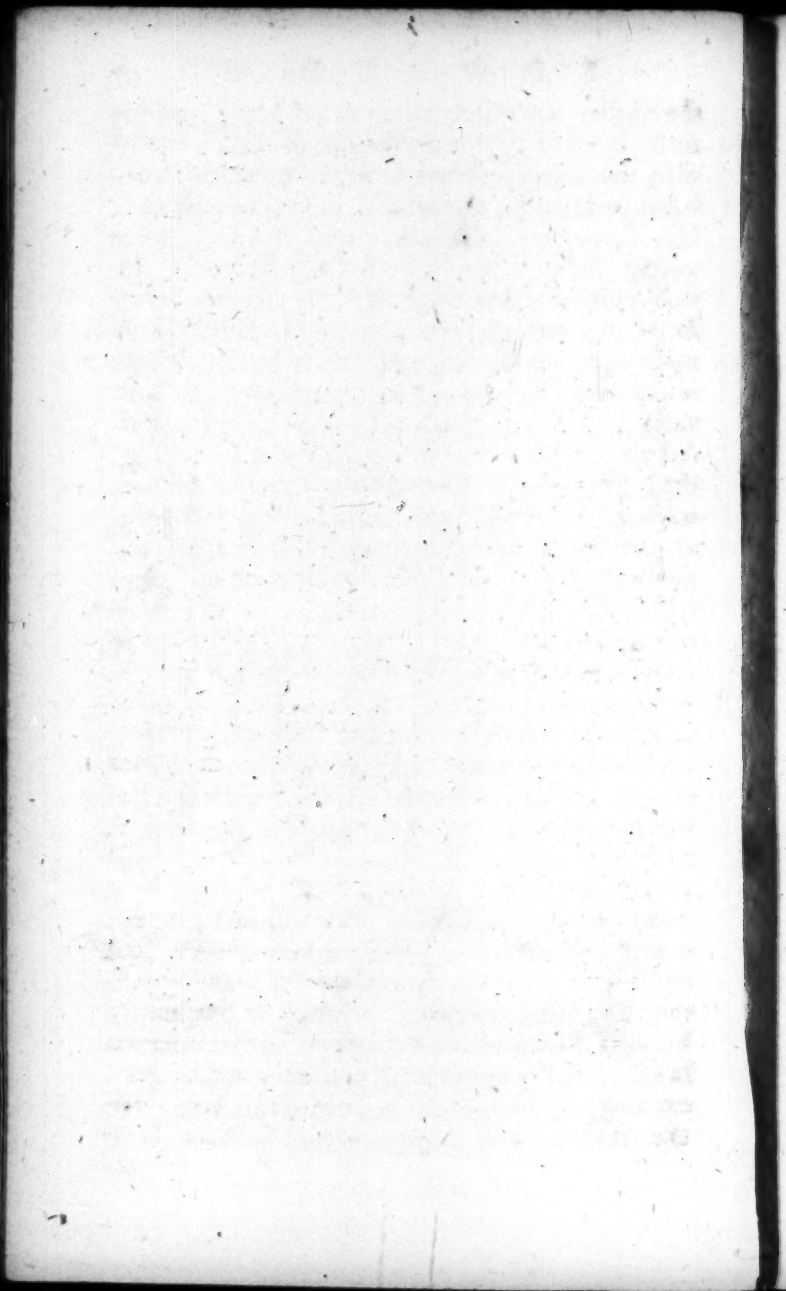
Mautravers and Gournay were soon the subjects of general detestation; and when the queen lost her power, and a revolution took place in favour of her son, they were obliged to provide for their safety by flight. At length, Gournay being seized at Marseilles, was put on board a ship, in order to be carried to England; but by secret orders was beheaded at sea. Mautravers, after being several years in Germany, found means to perform some services for Edward III. on which he ventured to approach his person; and submitting to mercy, received a pardon.

Edward the Second left four children, two sons and two daughters: Edward III. who succeeded him; John, afterwards created earl of Cornwall, who died young at Perth; Jane, who was afterwards married to David Bruce, king of Scotland, and Eleanor, who was espoused to Reginald count of Guelders.

The character of this king is so strongly expressed in the transactions of his reign, that little need be said of it here. The weakness of his mind obliged him to devolve on others the weight of government, which he had neither
the



*The Monument, of K. Edw. II.
in Gloucester Cathedral.*



the ability nor inclination to support; and his folly constantly induced him to make use of such favourites and ministers, as were least qualified to manage the affairs of a great nation. His favourites, Gavaston and Spencer, were young men, eager to take advantage of the weakness of their sovereign, in accumulating immense wealth, by the most unjustifiable means, at the expence of the nobility, whose resentment they encreased, by their pride, their vanity, and their insolence. While they possessed all the power and authority of the king, they squandered the treasures of the nation, without controul, from their master, and were, at the same time, entirely regardless of the prosperity and welfare of the kingdom. And while Edward was too weak, either to govern himself, or to chuse others fit to govern in his name, it was wise in the barons to put the government into other hands, more fitted to guide the state, and to prevent the nation's falling into utter contempt. Yet this was the source of innumerable disorders, from the king's being unwilling to be under any other guidance, but that of his minions. The barons, appear to have been at first chiefly actuated by a regard for the welfare of the nation; but this was mixed with their private resentments and animosities against the favourites, for which they had sufficient cause, though it frequently hurried them beyond the line of duty, and the laws. The weakness of the king might have excused the parliament's excluding him from the throne, and happy would it have been
for

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for this indolent prince, could he have been allowed to descend into a private station, which he was best qualified to fill, and might have filled with some degree of honour; for few men were of a more harmless disposition. His tragical death, which filled the nation with pity, ought not to be attributed to the barons; for none but Mortimer and the queen had such reasons to wish him dead, as to involve themselves in so black a crime.

MISCELLANEOUS INCIDENTS.

During this reign, England was afflicted several years with a most dreadful famine; for the perpetual rains and cold weather destroyed the harvest, bred a mortality among the cattle, and raised every kind of food to an enormous price. The parliament, therefore, in 1315, endeavoured to fix more moderate rates on the necessaries of life; and enjoined, that no more than three pounds twelve shillings of our present money, should be paid for the best stalled ox; for other oxen two pounds eight shillings: a fat hog of two years old, ten shillings; a fat weather, unshorn, a crown; if shorn three shilling and six-pence; a fat goose, seven pence half-penny; a fat capon, six-pence: a fat hen three pence; two chickens, three pence; four pigeons, three pence; and two dozen of eggs, three pence.

One of the most singular transactions of this reign was the expulsion of the Templars, from their houses and estates, that order being abolished not only in England, but all over Europe.

The

The circumstances attending this affair are interesting, we shall therefore give a short view of the cause of this event, and of the manner in which it was conducted. The knights templars arose during the first crusades, and uniting devotion and valour, exercised both these qualities in the defence of the Holy-Land; hence they rose with great rapidity in credit and authority, and obtained from the piety of the devout, large possessions, in almost every country in Europe, particularly in France. Their great wealth, at length, by degrees relaxed the severity of their manners; and they, in a great measure, lost the popularity which first raised them to honour and distinction. Having learned, from experience, that the fatigues and dangers which attended expeditions to the East, were entirely fruitless, the templars chose to take their ease, and enjoy their rich treasures. As they were all men of birth, and, according to the custom of the age, educated without the least tincture of learning, they scorned a monastic life, and passed their time in hunting, gallantry, and the pleasures of the table. The order of St. John of Jerusalem had been preserved, by their poverty, from the same dispositions, and still distinguishing themselves against the infidels, succeeded to their popularity.

Philip the Fair, king of France, a man of a cruel and vindictive spirit, being offended by some eminent templars, resolved to gratify both his avarice and revenge, by involving the whole order in ruin. On the information of

two knights, whom their superiors had condemned for their vices and profligacy, he caused all the templars in France to be committed to prison, and imputed to them the most enormous and absurd crimes. They were not only charged with robbery, murder, and the vices most shocking to nature; but it was pretended, that all who were received into the order, were obliged to renounce their Saviour, to spit upon the cross, and to worship a gilded head, that was secretly kept in one of their houses at Marseilles. Upon this ridiculous accusation, above a hundred of those unhappy gentlemen were put to the torture, in order to extort from them a confession of their guilt: those who had the most resolution, perished by the hands of their tormentors; while others, to procure immediate ease, acknowledged, during the violence of their agonies, whatever was asked them; and even forged confessions were imputed to others. Philip now proceeded to confiscate all their treasures and estates. The templars, however, were no sooner freed from their tortures, than preferring the most cruel death to a life of infamy, they disowned their confessions, exclaimed against the forgeries, and justified their innocence, by appealing to their conduct, and to all the gallant actions performed by their order, in ancient or later times. Philip, now thinking that his honour obliged him to proceed to extremities, caused fifty-four, whom he branded as relapsed heretics, to be burned in his capital; and great numbers suffered in the same manner, in other parts

parts of France: finding that the perseverance of these unhappy men, in justifying their innocence to the last, made a deep impression on the minds of the spectators, he caused John de Molay, grand master of the order, and another great officer, who was brother to the prince of Dauphiny, to be conducted to a scaffold, erected before the church of Nortre Dame at Paris: a full pardon was offered them on the one hand, and the fire lighted for their execution was shewn them on the other: but these brave nobles, still persisted in protesting their innocence, and that of their order; and were instantly hurried by the executioner into the flames.

Clement V. who was a creature of Philip, and then resided in France, fully concurred in all these unjust and barbarous proceedings, and without examining witnesses, or enquiring into the truth of facts, by the plenitude of his apostolic power, summarily abolished the whole order. The templars all over Europe were thrown into prison, and a strict scrutiny was made into their conduct; but no where, except in France, were pretended to be found the smallest traces of their guilt. England sent an ample testimony of their piety and morals; but, as the order was now abolished, the knights were distributed into several convents, and their possessions, by the pope's command, transferred to the order of St. John of Jerusalem.

C H A P. IV.

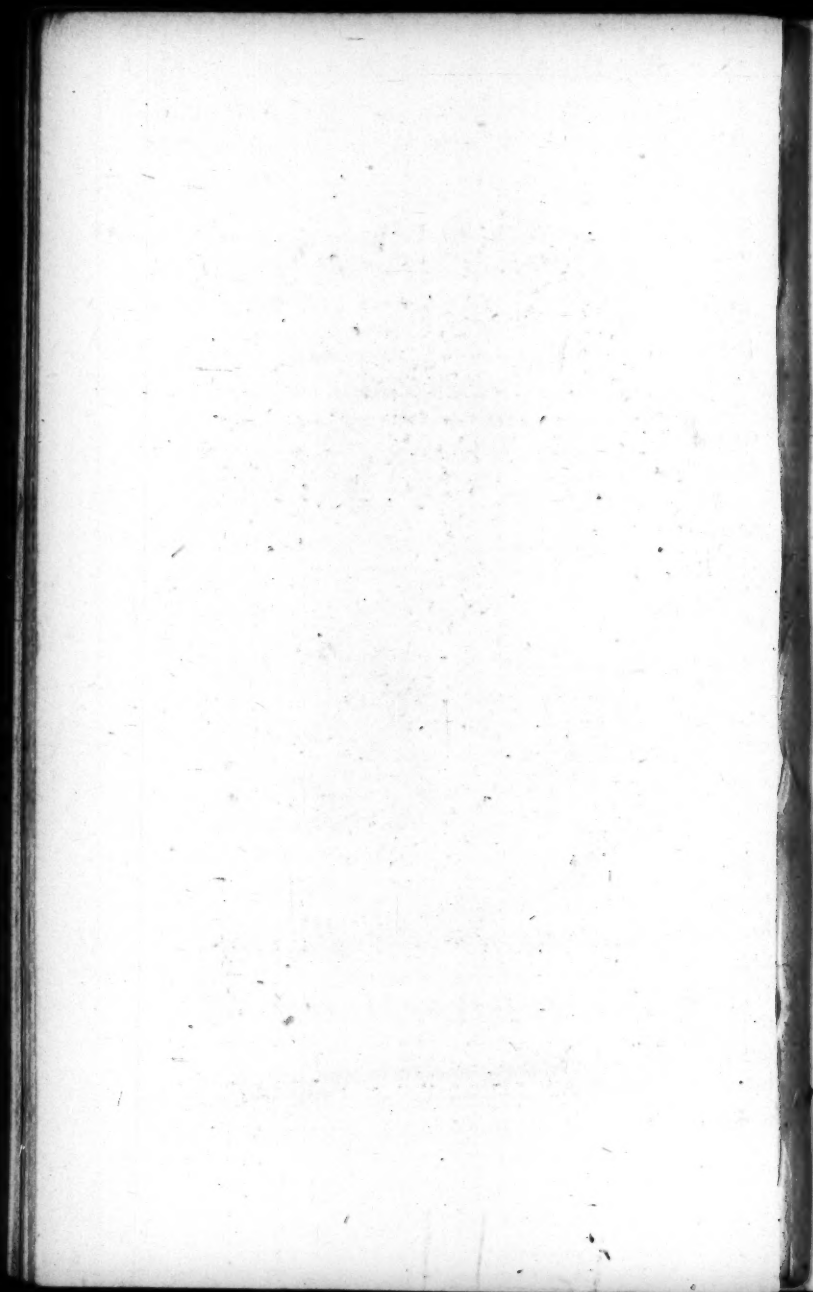
E D W A R D III.

A Regency appointed. The young King marches against the Scots. Mortimer assumes the Government. The Execution of the Earl of Kent. Mortimer seized and executed. A War with Scotland. The King's Claim to the Crown of France. He makes War on that Kingdom, and at length defeats the French at Sea. Domestic Disturbances. The War with France renewed. The Battle of Crecy. A War with Scotland. The King of Scots made Prisoner. The taking of Calais. King Edward institutes the Order of the Garter. Ravages committed in France. The Battle of Poitiers, in which King John, of France, is taken Prisoner. The heroic Behaviour of Edward the Black Prince. The State of France. That Kingdom again invaded. The Peace of Bretigni. Expedition into Castile. The Death of Edward the Black Prince, and of the King. His Character. Miscellaneous Events.

ON young Edward's being raised to the throne, the parliament appointed a regency consisting of twelve persons, five of whom were prelates; these were the archbishops of Canterbury and York, with the bishops of



EDWARD III.



of Winchester, Worcester, and Hereford; and seven lay-peers. The earls of Surrey, Kent, and Norfolk, and the lords Piercy, Roos, Ingham, and Wake. The earl of Lancaster was appointed protector and guardian of the king's person; and the parliament voted to the queen the sum of 20,000 l. to pay her debts, and the same sum annually, with all the treasures of the two Spencers, of the earl of Arundel, and Robert de Baldoc, the chancellor.

In the mean time the king of Scotland, thinking this a favourable opportunity for invading England, made an attempt to take the castle of Norham, without success; and then assembling an army of 25,000 men on the frontiers, under the command of the earl of Murray and lord Douglas, threatened to invade England. The English regency, after having endeavoured in vain to obtain a peace with Scotland, prepared for war, and not only assembled an army of near 60,000 men; but invited back John de Hainault, and a body of foreign horse, whom they had dismissed; and which appeared to be better armed and disciplined than those of the English. Young Edward, filled with military ardour, appeared at the head of this numerous army, and marched from Durham, the place of rendezvous, to meet the enemy, who had already broken into the frontiers, and were ravaging all the country around them.

Douglas and Murray were able generals, trained up in the long wars between the English and Scotch; and their troops were enured to hard-

ships, fatigues, and dangers. They had about four thousand cavalry well armed, and able to make a steady impression in battle: the rest of their army were light armed troops, mounted on small horses, that every were found subsistence, and were equally fit to make a sudden attack, or a quick retreat. The men were not encumbered with baggage, they were only equipped with a bag of oatmeal, which each soldier carried behind him, with a light iron plate, on which he instantly baked the meal into a cake in the open fields; but the best part of their subsistence was the cattle they seized, and which were dressed with equal expedition. After slaughtering the animal, the skin was placed loose, and hanging in the form of a bag upon some stakes; into this they poured water, and kindling a fire below, made it serve as a porrage pot for boiling their provisions.

Edward, after composing some dangerous quarrels which broke out between his English and foreign forces, found his chief difficulty was to come up with an army so rapid in its marches. Though the flame and smoke of burning villages plainly pointed out the place where they were encamped, upon his hastily marching thither, he found them gone, and by new marks of devastation discovered, that they had moved to a distant place. Having for some time harrassed his army in this fruitless chase, he advanced to the northward, and crossed the Tyne, in order to wait for their return homewards, and to be revenged for all their ravages. But their frequent incursions had already
ready

ready so much wasted the country, that it was impossible for him to obtain subsistence for his army ; and he was obliged to change his plan of operations, and return to the south. All track of the enemy was now lost ; and though he promised that any one who should bring him an account of their motions, should be rewarded with an estate of a hundred pounds a-year, he remained for some days inactive, from his not knowing where to find them. At last, however, he was informed that they had fixed their camp on the southern banks of the Were, as if they had resolved to wait there for a battle ; but their leaders had with such judgment chosen the spot, that the English no sooner approached them, than they saw it would be the utmost rashness to cross the river in their front, and attack them in their present situation.

The young prince, eager for revenge and glory, challenged them to meet him, if they dared, in the open field, to try the fortune of war. This bravado Douglas could ill brook, and advised, that they should accept the challenge ; but he was over-ruled by Murray, who returned an answer to Edward, that he never in any of his operations took the counsel of an enemy. The king, therefore, kept in his present station, opposite to the Scots, daily expecting that they would be obliged by necessity to change their quarters, and give him an opportunity of fighting them ; but after a few days, they decamped on a sudden, and marching up the river, encamped in such a manner, as to preserve the advantage of the ground. Edward

maintained that all hazards should be run, rather than those ravagers be allowed to escape with impunity, but was opposed by Mortimer, who prevented his making the attack.

While the two armies were in this situation, Douglas having got the word, and an exact survey of the situation of the English camp, entered it secretly in the night, with a body of two hundred resolute soldiers, and advanced to the royal tent, in order to kill or carry off the king, from the midst of his army. But in that critical moment, some of Edward's attendants awaked and made resistance. His chaplain and chamberlain sacrificed their lives to his safety. The king himself made a brave defence, and afterwards escaped in the dark. Douglas having in this attempt lost the greatest part of his followers, was glad to make a hasty retreat with the remainder. The Scotch army soon after decamped in the dead of night, without the least noise; and having thus got the start of the English, reached their own country, without farther loss. The king, on entering the place where the Scotch had fixed their camp, found only six Englishmen, whom the enemy, after having the cruelty to break their legs, had tied to trees, in order to prevent their carrying any intelligence to the young king.

Edward was extremely provoked at this disappointment in his first enterprize, at the head of so fine an army. However, the marks of bravery and spirit he had discovered, gave extreme satisfaction to all the troops, and were considered

considered as the sure indications of an illustrious reign. The general displeasure fell on Mortimer, and every measure pursued by him tended to encrease the hatred of the nation both against him and the queen.

Mortimer had taken no care in obtaining for himself a place in the council of regency; and indeed, he rendered that council useless, by usurping the sovereign authority. He not only settled on the queen dowager the greatest part of the royal revenues, but, in any public measure, never consulted either the princes of the blood, or any of the nobility; and the king himself was so encompassed with his creatures, that it was difficult to procure access to him. Hence all the envy which had attended Gavaston and Spencer, now fell on the favourite of the queen.

Mortimer being sensible of the encreasing hatred of the people, thought it necessary to secure a peace abroad upon any terms; and for that purpose, in 1328, entered into a negotiation with Robert Bruce. As the claim of England to the government of Scotland was the principal cause that excited the animosities between both nations, Mortimer consented to resign this pretension, and to acknowledge Robert as independent sovereign of Scotland: in return for which, Robert stipulated to pay 30,000 marks to England. This treaty was even ratified by parliament, though it filled the people with the greatest discontent, for they had zealously entered into the pretensions of Edward the First; and while they thought them-

selves

selves disgraced, by the successful resistance of so inferior a nation, they found themselves, by this treaty, cut off from all future hopes of conquest and revenge.

Kent, Norfolk, and Lancaster, who were princes of the blood, being united in their councils, Mortimer suspected that they had entertained designs against him, and therefore, on his summoning them to parliament, strictly forbid them, in the king's name, to come attended by any armed force. As the three earls approached Salisbury, where the parliament was appointed to meet, they found, that though, in obedience to the king's command, they had brought with them only their usual retinue, Mortimer and his followers were in arms; and beginning to apprehend some dangerous designs, turned back, assembled their retainers, and were returning with an army, to take their revenge on Mortimer; but Kent and Norfolk deserting the common cause, Lancaster was obliged to submit, and by the interposition of the prelates, the quarrel between them and Mortimer seemed to be appeased.

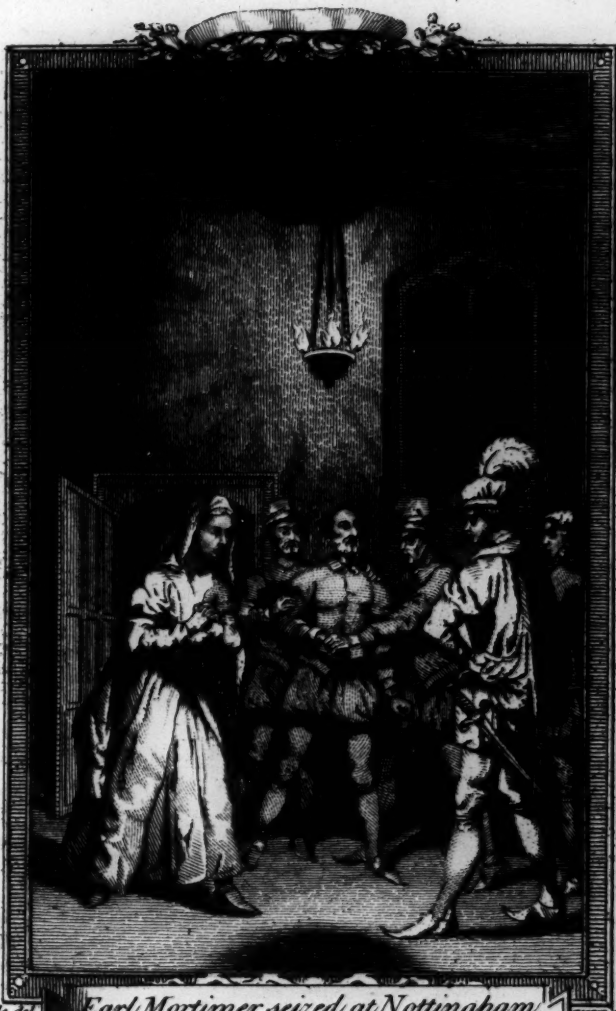
That nobleman, however, the next year, resolved to intimidate those princes, by the sacrifice of the earl of Kent. The simplicity of this earl, rendered it easy to practise upon him; and therefore, Mortimer and his emissaries endeavoured to persuade him, that his brother, king Edward was still alive, and confined in some secret prison. The earl readily giving credit to this intelligence, formed the design of restoring him to liberty, and of replacing

placing him on the throne. The earl was suffered to go on with his preparations, for some time; but at length was seized by Mortimer, accused before the parliament, and condemned to lose his life and fortune. The queen and Mortimer, fearing that the young king would be unwilling to have his uncle suffer, hurried on the execution, and the earl was beheaded the next day. But the people had such an affection for this nobleman, that it was evening before an executioner could be found.

Mortimer seized the earl of Kent's estate for his younger son Geoffry. Soon after, the earl of Lancaster was thrown into prison, under the pretence of his having consented to the conspiracy; and a prosecution was begun against many of the nobility and prelates: for Mortimer employed this engine to crush all his enemies, and to enrich himself and his family, by the forfeiture of their estates. He appeared with a state and dignity equal to that of a king: his power was extremely formidable: daily complaints were made of his illegal practices, and he became hated by all parties.

These abuses could not long escape the observation of prince Edward, who being now entered into his eighteenth year, found himself capable of having a share in the government, and was extremely dissatisfied at his being held in bondage by the haughty Mortimer: but as he was encompassed by that minister's emissaries, it was necessary for him to use the utmost caution and secrecy in his endeavours

to destroy his power. He let the lord Mountacute into his views; and that nobleman engaged the lords Clifford and Molins, Sir Edward Bohun, Sir John Nevil of Hornby, Ufford, and others, to enter into his views. Nottingham castle, in which the queen dowager and Mortimer lodged, was chosen for the scene, in which this enterprize was to be performed, and into which the king was also admitted, with only a few of his attendants. This castle was situated on the top of a high perpendicular rock, which was inaccessible; and all the other parts strictly guarded; the gates were locked up every evening, and the keys carried to the queen. It became necessary to communicate their design to Sir William Eland, the governor, who zealously joined with them; and by his direction, the king's associates were admitted into a subterraneous passage, which had formerly been contrived for privately conveying provisions and stores into that fortress. The entrance was level with the meadows, and a passage winded up through the rock to the castle. The above noblemen, conducted by Eland, proceeded through this subterraneous passage, and softly entered the chamber adjoining to the queen's apartment, where they found Mortimer, with the bishop of Lincoln and others of his party, in close consultation; and after having slain Sir Hugh de Turpliton and Richard de Monmouth, who drew their swords in Mortimer's defence, took him prisoner. The queen hearing the noise, and readily guessing the design of their coming,



Wale del.

*Earl Mortimer seized at Nottingham
Castle by order of Edward III.*

W. Walder sc.

Published as the Act directs, 1 March 1774, by J. Johnson, St Paul's Ch. Yard.

ing; called aloud in French to the king, whom she supposed to be at their head, "Fair son! Fair son! Have pity on the accomplished Mortimer." But receiving no answer, she started from her bed, and rushing among the conspirators, earnestly entreated them not to hurt him; for he was an accomplished knight, and her dear friend and cousin. They, however, took him away, and conveyed him from the castle, through the same passage by which they ascended, which is still called Mortimer's hole.

This exploit was performed with so little noise, that the guards were not alarmed; and the people of the town knew nothing of what was transacted. The next morning, two of Mortimer's sons, and several of his adherents, who lodged without the walls of the castle, were seized by the royalists. All the prisoners were sent up to London, and committed to the Tower; the same day, the king published a proclamation, that he had taken the government into his own hands, and was resolved to redress the grievances of the people. Then going from Nottingham to Leicester, he issued out writs for a new parliament to be held at Westminster, to which all persons aggrieved by the late administration were invited to bring their complaints, that they might obtain redress.

At this parliament, articles of impeachment were exhibited against Roger de Mortimer, who was accused of having usurped the regal power from the council of regency, appointed

pointed by parliament; of having set the queen-mother at variance with her husband, the late king; of having procured his murder; of having deceived the earl of Kent into a conspiracy to restore that prince; of having solicited and obtained exorbitant grants, which impaired the revenues of the crown; of having dissipated the public treasures, and of secreting for his own use 20,000 marks of the money paid by the king of Scotland; and other crimes and misdemeanors. These facts were deemed so notorious, that, without examining any evidence, or allowing him to make his defence, he was voted guilty of high-treason, and condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; which was executed at a place called Elmes, near London, on the twenty-ninth of November, 1330.

Some of the inferior criminals were also executed: the queen was stripped of her possessions; and her revenue reduced to four thousand pounds a year, which was equivalent to 12,000*l.* of our present money: but notwithstanding the king paid her a visit once or twice a year, during the remainder of her life, she was never able to reinstate herself in any authority.

Edward no sooner assumed the reigns of government, than he applied himself with great industry, to redress all the grievances that had arisen, either from want of authority in the crown, or the late abuses of it. All who had been put in office by Mortimer were discharged, and others put in their places. The king
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issued writs to the judges, enjoining them to administer impartial justice, without paying the least regard to any arbitrary orders, sent from the ministry. As robbers, and criminals of every kind had encreased to an exorbitant degree, during the late convulsions in the state, and were even openly protected by many of the great barons, who made use of them against their enemies, the king, after engaging the peers solemnly to promise in parliament, to break off all connections with those malefactors, endeavoured in earnest to remedy this evil. Some of these gangs of robbers were so numerous, as rendered it necessary for him to appear in person, in order to disperse them; and this salutary office he executed with great courage and industry; and from his example, the officers of justice, exerted the utmost diligence in discovering, pursuing, and punishing the criminals.

The Government having, by this means, acquired authority at home, became formidable to its neighbours; and Edward soon found an opportunity of exerting his ambition. The brave Robert Bruce, who had recovered the independence of his country, died soon after the late peace with England, and left his son David, a minor, under the guardianship of Randolph, the valiant earl of Murray. In this treaty, it had been stipulated that both the English, who inherited estates in Scotland, before the commencement of the wars, and the Scotch nobility, who enjoyed lands in England, should be restored to their respective possessions: but,

though Edward had pretty regularly executed his part of this article, Robert observing, that the lands claimed by Englishmen were more numerous and valuable than the others, was either unwilling to admit so many secret enemies into his country, or found it difficult to wrest from his own followers, the possessions they had obtained, as the reward of their dangers and fatigues, and therefore protracted the performance of his part of the stipulation. The English barons thus disappointed, resolved to obtain what they had a right to demand; and as they had great influence in the north, their enmity, even without the assistance of the king of England, was sufficient to shake the throne of a young prince, who was still a minor.

Edward, the son of John Baliol, who was crowned king of Scotland, had for some time, after his father's decease, been detained as a prisoner in England; but having obtained his liberty, he went to France, and resided on a patrimonial estate he possessed in Normandy, without the least thought of laying claim to the crown of Scotland. He was universally considered as a private person, and had been committed to prison on his being accused of a private offence. Lord Beaumont, who, in right of his wife, had a claim to the earldom of Buchan in Scotland, found him in this situation; and thinking him a proper instrument for his purpose, prevailed on the king of France to restore him to liberty, and brought him with him to England.

The English nobles, on receiving him among them, resolved to vindicate their rights by force of arms, and applied for assistance to Edward ; but he had some reasons which prevented his openly countenancing them : for, in the treaty with Scotland, he had been made to enter into a bond to pay the pope 20,000 l. if he violated the peace within four years ; and that term not being elapsed, he made no doubt, but that his Holiness would demand the penalty. He also apprehended, that his attacking a minor king, who was his brother-in-law, and whose independent title had been so lately acknowledged by a solemn treaty, would subject him to be every where charged with violence and injustice. Besides, on every demand which had been made of restitution to the English barons, the regent of Scotland had always acknowledged the justice of their claim, and founded the delay on plausible pretences. Edward, therefore, resolved to make use of the same artifices, and not proceed to open violence. He secretly encouraged Baliol, connived at his levying forces in the north, and countenanced those nobles, who were willing to join him. Two thousand five hundred men were raised by Umfreville, earl of Angus, the lords Talbot, Moubray, Stafford, Beaumont, Ferrers, Fitz-Warren, and Wake, and the command given to Baliol. As they supposed the frontiers would be strongly guarded, they resolved to proceed by sea ; and embarking at Ravenspur, in a few days, reached the coast of Fife.

They could not have engaged in such an enterprize at a more favourable time. The Scots, besides having lost the victorious Robert, were now much enfeebled: lord Douglas had gone to Spain, and had perished in battle against the Moors: the earl of Murray, after bending under the weight of years, had lately died; Donald, earl of Marre, who was of inferior abilities, had succeeded him in the regency; and the king, being a minor, was little able to defend a throne, which all the abilities and valour of his father were necessary to enable him to acquire and maintain.

The Scots being informed of the intended invasion, the English fleet no sooner appeared, than great numbers of them flocked to the shore, in order to prevent their landing. Baliol, with great activity and valour, drove them back with considerable loss; and then marched westward into the heart of the country, from the hopes, that the ancient partizans of his family would join him. But the Scots being greatly prejudiced against a prince supported by the English, he was considered as a common enemy; and the regent easily assembled an army of 40,000 men to oppose him. The two armies were parted by the river Erne; and the Scots, trusting to that security, and their great superiority of numbers, encamped without the least order. Baliol, taking advantage of this remissness, passed the river in the night; attacked this unguarded and undisciplined army, and threw them into a confusion, which was encreased by the darkness, and
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by those very numbers, in which they placed their confidence; and after a great slaughter, drove them off the field.

In the morning the Scots, who were assembled at some distance, were justly ashamed of having yielded the victory to so weak a foe, and hasted back to recover the honour they had lost. Their eagerness, which urged them to rush precipitately into the battle, made them overlook some broken ground which lay between them and the English, and which threw their ranks into disorder. Baliol immediately seizing this favourable opportunity, advanced with his troops, prevented their rallying, and again chased them off the field with great slaughter. In this action there fell above twelve thousand Scots, among whom was the regent himself, the earl of Carrick, a natural son of the late king, the earls of Monteith and Athole, lord Hay, constable, and the lords Lindsey and Keith: yet the loss of the English is said to have been only about thirty men.

Soon after Baliol took Perth; on which Patrick Dunbar, earl of March, and Sir Archibald Douglas, marched at the head of the army, which being recruited, amounted again to 40,000 men, proposing to reduce the English by famine. Perth was now blockaded by land; and some ships were assembled, which invested it by water: but the Scotch fleet, being attacked by that of Baliol, a victory was gained, and a communication opened between Perth and the sea. — Soon after the Scotch army was obliged to disperse, for want of pay and

subsistence; and the nation was, in fact, subdued by a handful of men. The noblemen, who were most exposed to danger, successively submitted, and Baliol was crowned at Scone on the 27th of September, 1332. David, the late king, was sent to France, with Jane, his betrothed wife, who was sister to Edward. The heads of his party sued to Baliol for a truce, to which he consented, in order to assemble a parliament in tranquility, and have his title acknowledged by the whole nation.

However, notwithstanding this truce, Baliol having dismissed the greatest part of his English forces, was the next year suddenly attacked and routed near Annan, by Sir Archibald Douglas, John Baliol, his brother, slain, and he himself obliged to fly in a miserable condition into England; and thus lost the kingdom by as sudden a revolution, as that by which he had obtained it.

During the short time in which Baliol possessed the crown of Scotland, he found, that it would be impossible for him to hold it without the protection of England, and therefore secretly sent to offer Edward to pay him homage, and to marry the princess Jane, if the pope's consent could be obtained for dissolving his former marriage, which was not yet consummated.

Edward, ambitious of destroying the independency of Scotland, which had been brought about by Mortimer during his minority, now willingly accepted the offer, and prepared to reinstate Baliol in the throne of Scotland; an enter-

enterprize which, from the late events, appeared so easy. For this purpose the parliament granted him an aid of a fifteenth, from the personal estates of the nobility and gentry, with a tenth of the moveables of boroughs: but added a petition, that the king would, from thenceforward, live on his own revenues, without grieving his subjects by the seizure of their goods under the form of purveyance, or by illegal taxes.

The Scots supposing that Berwick would be vigorously attacked, Douglas threw a strong garrison into it, under the command of Sir William Keith, while he himself collected a great army on the frontiers, ready to enter England as soon as that place should be invested by Edward. The English army, though less numerous, were under stricter discipline, and better supplied with arms and provisions; and tho' the Scots made a brave defence, the king, within two months, obliged them to capitulate, that they would surrender, if they were not relieved by their countrymen within a few days. This being made known to the Scotch army, which was preparing to invade Northumberland, they immediately marched to attempt the relief of that important fortress. Douglas, who had proposed to decline a pitched battle, and to draw out the war by small skirmishes, was now forced, by the impatience of his troops, to put the fate of the kingdom on the success of a day. He attacked the English on the 19th of July, 1333, at Halidown-hill, a little north of Berwick; and notwithstanding his causing
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his heavy-armed cavalry to dismount, in order to give greater steadiness to his infantry, and render the action more desperate; they were received by Edward with such courage, and were so gauled by the English archers, that, in a short time, they were thrown into disorder; and on Douglas's being slain, were entirely routed. The whole army fled in great confusion; and little quarter being given in the pursuit, all the principal nobility were either slain or taken prisoners. The Scots lost near 30,000 men, while the loss of the English is said to have only amounted to one knight, one esquire, and thirteen private soldiers.

The Scotch nobility had now no other resource but submission. Edward, therefore, leaving with Baliol a considerable body of forces to complete the conquest of Scotland, returned with the remainder of his army to England. In a parliament held at Edinburgh, Baliol was not only acknowledged king, but the superiority of England was again confirmed; many of the nobility swore fealty to Edward, and Baliol ceded to him Berwick, Dunbar, Roxborough, Edinburgh, and all the south-east counties of that kingdom, which were declared to be for ever annexed to the crown of England.

This rendered Baliol the object of the universal hatred of the Scots; and notwithstanding the submissions they were obliged to make, they considered him less as their prince, than as the delegate and confederate of their inveterate enemy; and as neither Edward's revenue, nor the manners of the age, would permit him

him to keep a standing army in Scotland, the English forces had no sooner retired, than the Scots revolted, and returned to their former allegiance, under David Bruce. Sir Andrew Murray, who was appointed regent by young David's party, exerted his activity and valour against Baliol in many small actions; and in a little time reduced him to such distress, that he was almost ready to leave the kingdom.

In 1335 Edward was obliged to assemble an army, and march into Scotland to Baliol's relief. The Scots now withdrawing into their hills and fortresses, Edward destroyed the houses, and ravaged the estates of those whom he termed rebels. This strengthening their obstinate antipathy both to England and Baliol, they became desperate, and seized the first opportunity given them by the retreat of the English, to recover the country they had seized. Edward appeared again the next year in Scotland with the same success; and though he marched without controul over the low country, the nation was still farther than ever from being broken and subdued. Supported by their pride and resentment, and encouraged amidst their calamities, by daily promises of relief from France, they supported their spirits; and a war being likely to break out between England and that kingdom, they had reason to believe, that this would produce a great diversion in their favour.

We are now entering upon memorable events, which make it necessary to give a particular account of the sources from which they sprung.

sprung. The French had long entertained the opinion, that their crown could never descend to a female; an opinion usually derived from a maxim in the Salic law (that is, the law of an ancient tribe among the Franks) though the clause in that law does not, by the confession of the best antiquaries, bear the sense commonly imposed upon it. The exclusion of females had, however, taken place, and the rule was established both by ancient and modern precedents.

Edward had, when young, embraced the opinion that he was intitled, in right of his mother, to succeed to the possession of the crown of France: a notion extremely weak and ill grounded; for the principle of excluding females from the crown of France had acquired equal authority with the most express and positive law; and if Edward was disposed to question its validity, he must have cut off his own pretensions; since each of the last three kings of France had left daughters, who were still alive, and stood before him in the order of succession*. He was therefore reduced to

* During nine hundred years, France had been always governed by males and no females, and none descended from females had ever ascended the throne. Of the late kings, Philip the Fair left three sons, Lewis Hutin, Philip the Long, and Charles the Fair, and one daughter, who was Isabella, the present queen dowager of England. Lewis Hutin, at his death, left one daughter by Margaret, sister to Eudes, duke of Burgundy, and as the queen
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to the necessity of asserting, that though Isabella, his mother, was, on account of her sex, incapable of succeeding, he himself, who inherited through her, was liable to no such objection. But supposing there was any justice in this pretension, it was more favourable to Charles, king of Navarre, who was descended from the daughter of Lewis Hutin, and was, besides, so contrary to the established principles of succession in every country of Europe, that nobody in France thought of Edward's claim, or disputed Philip's title.

was then pregnant, Philip the Long, his next brother, was appointed regent, till it was known whether her child would prove a son or a daughter. The queen bore a son, who living only a few days, Philip the Long was proclaimed king: and as the duke of Burgundy made some opposition, and asserted the rights of his niece, the states of the kingdom, by a solemn decree, excluded her, and declared all females for ever incapable of succeeding to the throne of France. After a short reign Philip died, leaving three daughters, and his brother, Charles the Fair, without the least dispute succeeded to the crown. Charles's reign was also short: he left only one daughter; but as his queen was pregnant, the next male heir was appointed regent, with a declared right of succession, if the issue should prove a female. This prince was Philip de Valois, cousin german to the deceased king; he being the son of Charles de Valois, the brother of Philip the Fair. The queen was delivered of a daughter, on which the regency ended, and Philip de Valois, the present king, was unanimously placed on the throne.
Hume.

Edward,

Edward, however, did not think fit to insist on his pretensions, which must have instantly involved him in a very dangerous war with so powerful a monarch. While he was in this situation, he was summoned to do homage for Guienne, and Philip was preparing to compel him by force of arms. As the forfeiture of so valuable an inheritance would, by the feudal law, be the consequence of his refusing to perform the duty of a vassal, Edward thought it prudent to submit to the present necessity, and to go to Amiens, where he did homage to Philip. His claim was, indeed, so thoroughly disavowed by all France, that to insist upon it was pretending to make a conquest of the kingdom.

About this time Robert of Artois, who was descended from the blood royal of France, and had married Philip's sister, came over to England. He had lost the county of Artois, which he claimed as his birth-right, but being deprived of it by Philip the Fair, attempted the recovery of it by a forgery. This being detected, he was covered with shame and confusion: Philip, his brother-in-law, prosecuted him with violence: incapable of bearing disgrace, he had concealed himself in the Netherlands; but being driven from thence, was protected in England by Edward, notwithstanding the menaces and remonstrances of the French king. He now endeavoured to stimulate Edward to set up his title to the crown of France, and that prince was the more disposed to listen to suggestions of this kind, from his
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having reason to complain of Philip's conduct with regard to Guienne, and from that prince's having not only giving protection to David Bruce, but encouraged the Scots in their struggles for independency. Thus the breasts of both monarchs were gradually filled with resentment. Edward now endeavoured to form alliances in the Low Countries, and on the frontiers of Germany, where alone he could effectually attack France, and produce a diversion that might save the province of Guienne, which lay exposed to Philip's power.

Edward began, by engaging the count of Hainault in his interest; and by his good offices and large remittances of money from England, the duke of Brabant was induced to promise his concurrence: the archbishop of Cologne, the duke of Gueldres, the marquis of Juliers, the count of Namur, and some others, were engaged by like motives to enter into an alliance with the English. These sovereigns were able to supply great numbers of warlike troops, and nothing was wanting but the accession of Flanders, which Edward procured by extraordinary means.

The Flemings, by cultivating arts and manufactures, had acquired great riches, and many privileges; and began to emerge from the state of vassalage, in which the common people had been universally involved by the feudal system. They had chaced their earl into Flanders, and had delivered themselves over to the guidance of a leader chosen by themselves. Their present leader was James d' Arteville,

a brewer in Ghent, who governed them with an uncontrouled authority. To him Edward addressed himself, and never courted any ally with so much assiduity as this tradesman. D'Arteville, proud of these advances from the king of England, and sensible that the Flemings were inclined to form connections with the English, from whom they received the materials of their woollen manufactures, readily embraced Edward's interest, and invited him over into the Netherlands. Before Edward entered on this great enterprize, he consulted his parliament, obtained their consent, and procured from them a grant of 20,000 packs of wool, which was a good commodity with the Flemings; and he completed the other necessary sums, by pawning the crown jewels, and by loans; and being attended by a body of English forces, and by several of his nobility, sailed to Flanders.

Edward, to justify the German princes in their hostilities against France, obtained from the emperor, the title of vicar of the empire, which gave him the right of commanding the service of the princes of Germany. And to remove the scruples of the Flemings, who were vassals of France, he, by the advice of d'Arteville, assumed the title of king of France, and challenged their assistance for dethroning Philip de Valois, who had usurped his kingdom; but this step, which he foresaw would destroy all future amity between the kingdoms, he took with great reluctance and hesitation.

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From this period, we may date the commencement of that great animosity which has even since subsisted between the English and French. Before this time, the English nobility and gentry, valued themselves on their French or Norman extraction; employed the language of that country in all public transactions, and even in familiar conversation, and as both the English court and camp were always full of nobles who came from some province of France, the two people were, during some centuries, more intermingled than any two distinct nations to be found in history. But by these pretensions, the seeds of animosity were sown in both countries, especially among the English.

Philip made prodigious preparations against the English; and his foreign alliances were more cordial and more powerful, while those of Edward, having no object but his money, which began to be exhausted, were slow in their motions, and irresolute in their measures. The summer was wasted in conferences and negotiations, before Edward could lead his armies into the field; but at length he entered the enemy's country, and encamped near Cappel with an army of about 50,000 men, composed almost entirely of foreigners. Philip approached him with an army of near double the force, chiefly composed of native subjects; and a battle was daily expected: but Edward was unwilling to engage with such superior numbers, and the French were satisfied with eluding his attack, without running any unnecessary

necessary hazard. The two armies for some days faced each other; sent mutual defiance, and at last Edward retired into Flanders, and disbanded his forces.

This was the fruitless conclusion of Edward's vast preparations, in which he had contracted a debt of near 300,000*l.* had anticipated all his revenue, and pawned every thing of value, that belonged either to himself or his queen. But he had too much spirit to be discouraged by the first difficulties of an enterprize, and was anxious to retrieve his honour by more successful and more gallant exploits

During the course of the campaign, the king had sent orders to his son Edward, to summon a parliament, and to demand a supply; but though the parliament offered to grant thirty thousand sacks of wool, no business was concluded, because they annexed conditions, which the king considered as retrenching his royal prerogative, and to which he was unwilling to submit. But when Edward himself came to England, he summoned another parliament, and procured a supply on more moderate terms. A confirmation of the two charters and of the privileges of boroughs, a remedy for some abuses in the execution of the common law, and a pardon for old debts and trespasses, were the chief conditions; and the king in return, obtained an unusual grant for two years, of the ninth sheaf, lamb, and fleece, on the estates of the nobles; and from the burgesses, a ninth of their moveables, at their true value. They also granted a duty of
forty

forty shillings on each pack of wool exported ; the same on every three hundred wool-fells ; and on every last of leather, for the same term of years. But soon after, being sensible that this supply would come in slowly, they agreed, that twenty thousand packs of wool should be immediately granted, and their value deducted from the ninth which were afterwards to be raised.

Edward, before the commencement of the last campaign, had, in several commissions, assumed the title of king of France ; and now gave himself that appellation in all public deeds ; and constantly quartered in his seals and ensigns, the arms of France with those of England. This induced the parliament to endeavour to obviate the consequences that might flow from this measure ; and to declare, that they owed him no obedience as king of France ; and that the two kingdoms must for ever remain distinct and independent ; probably foreseeing, that if France was subdued, it would prove the feat of government ; and that this previous protestation was necessary to prevent England becoming a province to France.

In 1340, Philip being informed, by the preparations that were making, that he must expect another invasion from Edward, fitted out a fleet of four hundred sail, manned with 40,000 men, and stationed them off Sluys, in order to intercept the king in his passage. The English fleet, which consisted only of two hundred and forty ships, set sail, and gaining the wind of the enemy, with the sun in their

backs, began a fierce and bloody engagement. The English archers, who were now much celebrated, gauled the French on their approach: but when the ships grappled, the dispute became more steady and furious. The king, and the many brave nobles who accompanied him, animating the soldiers and seamen by their example, great numbers of the enemy leaped into the sea, and the English carried every thing before them. Mean while the French, being stationed near the coast of Flanders, the Flemings, who had viewed the action from the shore, sailed out of their ports and joined the English. This completed the victory: for the French being seized with double terror at the unexpected approach of these new enemies, were almost instantly defeated. Thirty thousand men, with two of their admirals, were slain: and two hundred and thirty ships were taken; while the loss of the English, compared with the greatness and importance of the victory, was inconsiderable.

This great success encreasing Edward's authority among his allies, they assembled their forces with great expedition, and joined the English army; upon which Edward marched to the frontiers of France, at the head of above 100,000 men, chiefly foreigners. The Flemings, at the same time, who amounted to 50,000 men, marched with Robert d'Artois at their head, and laid siege to St. Omers; but being chiefly composed of manufacturers, unacquainted with war, were routed by a sally of the garrison, and thrown into such a panic, that

that they dispersed, and never ventured to appear again in the field. Edward's enterprizes; though less inglorious, were equally fruitless. The French king's army was more numerous; yet he still adhered to the resolution of hazarding nothing; and having thrown strong garrisons into all the frontier towns, retired.

Edward afterwards laid siege to Tournay, which was then one of the most considerable cities of Flanders, it containing above 60,000 inhabitants, who were fond of the French government; and Philip had supplied it with a garrison commanded by the bravest of the French nobility. Hence Edward, finding an obstinate resistance, and that every assault was repulsed and proved unsuccessful, turned the siege into a blockade, in hopes of reducing the city by famine. This was no sooner perceived by the count of Eu the governor, than he endeavoured to save his provisions, by expelling all the useless mouths. After the siege had continued ten weeks, the city was reduced to distress; when Philip recalling his scattered garrisons, advanced at the head of a great army with the intention of avoiding a decisive action, and of throwing relief into the town. Edward, irritated by the small progress he had hitherto made, sent a herald to Philip, to challenge him to decide their claims for the crown of France, either by single combat, or by an action of a hundred against a hundred, or by a general engagement; but Philip replied, that the king of England having done homage to him for the dutchy of Guienne, and solemnly acknow-

acknowledged him his superior, it did not become him to send a defiance to his liege-lord and sovereign, and that he did not doubt, notwithstanding his conjunction with the rebellious Flemings, that he should soon be able to chase him out of France: that Edward proposed a duel on very unequal terms, by offering to hazard only his own person, not only against that of the king, but of the whole kingdom of France; yet if he would encrease the stake, by putting the kingdom of England on the issue of the duel, he would willingly accept the challenge.

While the two armies lay in this situation, and a general action was daily expected, Jane, countess dowager of Hainault, endeavoured to prevent the effusion of blood, by producing a reconciliation between them. This princess was sister to Philip, and mother-in-law to Edward; and though she had retired to a convent, she left her retreat, and employed all her pious efforts, to put an end to these animosities between persons so nearly related to her, and to each other. Philip having no material claims on his enemy, willingly listened to his proposals; and even the ambitious Edward, convinced that he was engaged in an enterprize, in which he was not likely to prevail, was not averse to the negotiation; and a truce was concluded on the third of September, 1340, which left both parties in possession of their present acquisitions and put a stop to all farther hostilities on the side of the Netherlands, Guienne, and Scotland, till the following Midsummer. Soon after, the king of France, engaged the emperor

emperor Lewis to revoke the title of imperial vicar, which he had conferred on Edward; and that prince's allies, being disappointed of their hopes, gradually withdrew from the confederacy; and Edward, himself being teized by his numerous creditors, hastily returned to England.

The tax which had been imposed by parliament, of a ninth sheaf, lamb, and fleece, with the great want of money and credit in England, had rendered the remittance to Flanders extremely backward. But though Edward might easily have foreseen this, he was so irritated with the ill success of his military operations, and so much vexed and affronted by his foreign creditors, that he came in a very ill humour to England. As he landed unexpectedly, he found the Tower but negligently guarded, and immediately committed to prison the constable and all others who had the charge of that fortress. His revenge next fell on the officers of the revenue, the collectors of the taxes, and the sheriffs, whom he turned out of their employments, and appointed commissioners to enquire into their conduct. Sir John Stonore, chief justice, Sir John St. Paul, keeper of the privy seal, and Andrew Aubray, mayor of London, were imprisoned, as were also the bishop of Chichester, chancellor, and the bishop of Litchfield, treasurer. Stratford, archbishop of Canterbury, to whom was chiefly entrusted the charge of collecting the new taxes, was absent at his arrival, and thus escaped the immediate effects of his displeasure.

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The archbishop was no sooner informed that he had incurred Edward's resentment, than he resolved to shew the king that he was capable of vindicating what he termed the privileges of his order; and issued a general sentence of excommunication against all who, on any pretence, exercised violence on the person or goods of clergymen, or accused a prelate of treason or any other crime, in order to make him incur the king's displeasure. Edward saw himself struck at by this sentence, on account of his imprisoning the two bishops and the other ecclesiastics concerned in collecting the taxes, and his seizing their lands and moveables. The clergy, headed by the primate, now formed themselves into a regular combination against him, and the archbishop, in a letter to the king, went so far as to assert, that there were two powers by which the world was governed, the holy pontifical apostolic dignity, and the royal subordinate authority; that the clerical was evidently the supreme, since the priests were to answer for the conduct of kings themselves at the divine tribunal; and that they were the spiritual fathers of all the faithful, and among the rest, of kings and princes; and by a heavenly charter, were intitled to censure their transgressions, and to guide their wills and actions. Edward was not pleased with these observations, so inconsistent with his undoubted prerogatives; and, on his calling a parliament, shewed his resentment by not summoning the primate. He, however, appeared before the gates, dressed in his pontifical robes, with

with a crozier in his hand, and attended by a pompous train of ecclesiastics; and demanded admittance as the first and highest peer in the realm. The king rejected his application two days; but at last permitted him to take his seat, and became reconciled to him.

The king was now in a disagreeable situation, both with respect to his own subjects and to foreign states. His claims on France and Scotland had involved him in a war with those kingdoms: his want of money had made him lose most of his foreign allies; he was deeply involved in debts, for which he was obliged to pay extravagant interest; and both the clergy and people were discontented, on account of several arbitrary measures in which he had been engaged; while none of his military operations, except his victory at sea, had been attended with the least degree of honour to himself or the nation. But his aspiring genius proved at last sufficient to reinstate him in his former glory, and at length, to render his reign the most triumphant that is to be found in the English history: yet he was obliged for the present to yield to the current, which ran against him.

An act was framed, which premised, that as the Great Charter had, in many points, been violated by the imprisonment of freemen, and the seizure of their goods without trial, it was necessary to confirm it anew, and to oblige the principal officers of the law, with the steward and chamberlain of the household, the keeper of the privy-seal, the comptroller and treasurer of

of the wardrobe, and those entrusted with the education of the young prince, to swear to its regular observance; that as the peers of the realm had formerly been arrested, imprisoned, dispossessed of their lands and effects, and even some of them put to death, without judgment or trial; such violence should forever cease, and no peer be punished but by the sentence of his peers in parliament. That whenever any of the great offices above-mentioned became vacant, the king should fill it by the advice of his council, and the consent of such barons as resided in the neighbourhood of the court; and that on the third day of every session, the king should resume all these offices, except those of the justices of the two benches, and barons of the exchequer; that for the time the ministers should be reduced to private persons, and answer before parliament any accusation brought against them; and if they were found guilty, should be dispossessed of their offices, and more able persons chosen in their room.

In return for these important concessions, the parliament voted 20,000 sacks of wool for the king, whose wants were so pressing that he accepted of a supply on these conditions. But though he ratified this statute in full parliament, he entered a secret protest, in which he declared, that as soon as his convenience permitted, he would, by his own authority, revoke what had been extorted from him: a proceeding which, one would imagine, was sufficient to destroy all trust and confidence in him from his people. He was, accordingly, no sooner
possessed

possessed of this supply, than he issued an edict, in which he asserted, that the statute had been enacted contrary to law, as if the whole legislative body could ever do any thing illegal, and affirmed, that it was prejudicial to the prerogatives of the crown, which he had sworn to defend; that he had only dissembled when he seemed to ratify it, but that he had never, in his own breast, given it his assent; he therefore annuls it, though he professes himself willing and determined to observe such of its articles as were formerly law: yet the parliaments who afterwards assembled, took no notice of this arbitrary exertion of the royal power, which indeed left all the laws at the king's mercy; and two years after, Edward recovered such influence, as to obtain from parliament a legal repeal of those parts of the statute, which were most disagreeable to him.

Edward had suffered so many mortifications by his war with France, and found such little prospect of success, that there was little probability of his resuming his claim, had not more promising views opened to him by a revolution in Brittany.

John III. duke of that province, while declining through age and infirmities, was solicitous to prevent the disorders to which, at his death, his subjects might be exposed by a disputed succession. He had no issue; and his younger brother, the count of Penthievre, had left only one daughter, whom he considered as his heir; and as his family had inherited the duchy, by a female succession, he preferred

her title to that of the count of Montfort, his brother by a second marriage. He accordingly proposed to marry his niece to Charles of Blois, the French king's nephew, who he thought, would be able to defend her rights; but as he loved his subjects, he was unwilling to take this important step without their approbation; and having assembled the states of Brittany, they willingly concurred in the choice; upon which the marriage was concluded, when all his vassals, and even the count of Montfort, swore fealty to Charles and to his spouse, as their future sovereigns.

Yet on the death of this prince, the count of Montfort, breaking through these bonds, kindled a dangerous war. While Charles of Blois was soliciting the investiture of his duchy at the court of France, Montfort, by force or intrigue, made himself master of Rennes, Brest, Hennebonne, Nantz, and all the most important fortresses; and prevailed on many considerable barons to acknowledge his authority. As he was sensible that he had not the least reason to expect favour from Philip, he took a voyage to England, under the pretence of soliciting his claim to the earldom of Richmond, which devolved to him on the death of his brother; and offering to do homage to Edward, as king of France, for the duchy of Brittany, proposed a strict alliance for the support of each other's pretensions.

Edward immediately saw the advantages attending this treaty, which opened, at once,

an entrance into the heart of France, and afforded him much more flattering views than those he had obtained from his allies on the side of Germany and the Netherlands, who had never been sincerely attached to his cause; and Edward, being little disposed to rest contented under the repulses he had received, which had injured his reputation, speedily concluded the alliance; and though their pleas with regard to the preference of the male or female succession were directly opposite, their immediate interests formed a strict connection between them.

This treaty being still a secret, Montfort, on his return to the continent, ventured to appear at Paris, to defend his cause before the peers; but observing that they were all prepossessed against his title, and dreading that he should be arrested, he suddenly made his escape, and a war was instantly declared between him and Charles of Blois. Philip sent the duke of Normandy, his eldest son, with a powerful army, to the assistance of Charles; when Montfort, being unable to keep the field, remained in the city of Nantz; where being besieged, the city was taken, and Montfort falling into the hands of his enemies, was conducted to Paris, and confined in the tower of the Louvre.

An end seemed now to be put to Montfort's pretensions; but the next year, 1342, Jane of Flanders, countess of Montfort, roused by the captivity of her husband, from the domestic cares which had hitherto employed her thoughts,

bravely endeavoured to support her sinking family. On hearing the fatal news, she assembled the inhabitants of Rennes, where she then dwelt; and with her infant son in her arms, deplored their sovereign's calamity, recommending to their care the illustrious orphan, the only remaining male of their ancient princes, by whom they had been governed with such lenity and indulgence. She assured them, that in so just a cause, she was willing to run all hazards; laid before them the resources which arose from the alliance, which she told them, had been formed with England, and earnestly entreated them to make one vigorous effort, against an usurper imposed on them by the arms of France, who in return would sacrifice the ancient liberties of Brittany to his protector.

The audience moved by her affecting appearance, and animated by her noble conduct, vowed to live and die with her, in defending the rights of her family; and the same resolution was taken by all the other fortresses of Brittany. The countess flew from place to place, encouraging the garrisons, providing them with every thing necessary, and concerting plans of defence. She then shut herself up in Hennebonne, where she impatiently waited for the arrival of the succours promised by Edward; and in the mean time, sent her son to England, both to put him in a place of safety, and to engage the king to embrace the interests of her family with the greater zeal, from his having such a pledge in his possession.

Charles

Charles being anxious to obtain so important a fortress as Hennebonne, and more still to take the countess prisoner, invested the place with a great army of French, Spaniards, Genoese, and some Bretons; and conducted the attack with the utmost vigour. The defence was carried on with no less spirit, and the besiegers were repulsed in every assault: the garrison frequently made successful sallies, and the countess herself being the most forward in every military operation, they would have been ashamed not to exert themselves in this desperate situation, to the utmost of their power. She one day observed that the besiegers, while they were entirely employed in an attack, had neglected a distant quarter of their camp, and instantly sallying forth at the head of two hundred cavalry, threw the sutlers and servants into confusion, did great execution amongst them, and set fire to their tents, baggage, and magazines. On her preparing to return, she found that she was intercepted, a considerable body of the enemy having thrown themselves between her and the gates. Instantly taking her resolution, she ordered her men to disband, and to make the best of their way to Brest. She herself appeared at the appointed place of rendezvous, collected another body of five hundred horse, returned to Hennebonne, and breaking unexpectedly through the enemies camp, was received with shouts and acclamations by the garrison, who being encouraged by this reinforcement, and by such an extraordinary example of female bravery, resolutely

resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity.

However, the repeated attacks of the besiegers, having, at length, made several breaches in the walls, a general assault was hourly expected, in which the garrison, diminished in their numbers, and extremely weakened with watching and fatigue, would probably be overpowered. In this extremity, it was necessary to treat of a capitulation; and for that purpose, the bishop of Leon had entered into a conference with Charles of Blois. Mean time the countess, who had ascended a high tower, and with great impatience was looking towards the sea, observed some ships at a distance, and immediately exclaimed, "Behold the succours! The English succours!" "No capitulation." This fleet which Edward had prepared for the relief of Hennebonne, had been long detained by contrary winds, and in this critical conjuncture entered the harbour, under the command of Sir Walter Manny, a brave English officer, and had on board a body of heavy armed cavalry, and six thousand archers. This inspired the garrison with fresh courage; and joining Sir Walter, they immediately sallied forth, and having beat the besiegers from all their posts, obliged them to decamp.

However, the countess, notwithstanding this success, found that her party, being overpowered by numbers, every where declined; and therefore came to England to solicit more effectual succours. Edward gave her a considerable

considerable reinforcement under Robert of Artois, who sailed to Brittany on board a fleet of forty-five ships. Being met in his passage by the enemy, an engagement ensued, in which the countess, with her usual valour, charged the enemy sword in hand; but after a sharp action, the fleets were separated by a storm, and the English reached Brittany in safety. Robert soon after took Vannes, but did not long survive this success; for the barons of Brittany, of Charles's party, suddenly attacking that city, carried the place, chiefly by means of Robert's having received a wound, of which he died at sea soon after, when on his return to England.

Edward now undertook in person to defend the countess of Montfort; and the last truce with France being expired, the war, which had hitherto been carried on by the English and French, only as allies to the competitors for Brittany, was from thenceforward conducted in the name, and under the standards of England and France. Edward landed in 1342, near Vannes, with twelve thousand men, and being master of the field, began with laying siege to Vannes, Nantz, and Rennes at the same time; but was unsuccessful in all, even against Vannes, where he himself commanded in person; for by thus undertaking too much, he gave the French time to oppose him. The duke of Normandy, Philip's eldest son, approached with an army of four thousand horse and thirty thousand foot, which obliged Edward to draw together his scattered forces, and strongly to entrench himself

self before Vannes, where the duke of Normandy soon after invested the besiegers. Both the garrison and the French camp were well supplied with provisions, while the English drew theirs from England, at the hazard of the sea, and that which sometimes arose from the fleet of the enemy. In this dangerous situation Edward willingly listened to the mediation of two of the pope's legates, and a treaty was concluded in 1343, for a cessation of arms during three years. Thus was Edward able, in this dangerous situation, to procure equal and honourable terms; it being agreed, that Vannes should, during the truce, be in the hands of the legates, and be afterwards disposed of as they pleased; that the other places in Brittany, should continue in the hands of the present possessors; that all prisoners should be released; and that the allies on both sides should be comprehended in the truce. Edward soon after returned to England.

This truce was, however, of short duration, and both Edward and Philip endeavoured to throw the blame of its infraction upon each other. Edward complained of it to his parliament, whom he consulted on all occasions, and they entered into his quarrel, and granted him supplies for the renewal of the war. The counties were to pay a fifteenth for two years, the boroughs a tenth, and the clergy agreed to give a tenth for three years.

Edward being enabled by these supplies to complete his military preparations, he sent his cousin, Henry earl of Derby, the earl of Lancaster's

earl's son, to defend Guienne. This prince was as much distinguished by his justice and humanity, as by his bravery and conduct. Not satisfied with protecting that province, he attacked the count of Lisle, the French general, at Bergerac, drove him from his intrenchments, and took the place. He subdued a great part of Perigord, and was making continual conquests, till the count of Lisle, in 1345, after assembling an army of ten or twelve thousand men invested Auberoche, which had fallen into the hands of the English. But the earl of Derby, with only a thousand cavalry, attacking him by surprize, threw the French into disorder, and pursuing his advantage, gained a complete victory, in which the general himself, with many considerable barons, were taken prisoners. After this Derby made a rapid progress in subduing the French provinces, and took many towns and fortresses, among which were Aiguillon, Angouleme, and Reole.

The emptiness of Philip's coffers was the principal reason of lord Derby's being permitted to make such progress in Guienne without opposition; but no sooner was the court of France supplied with money, than great preparations were made to oppose him. The duke of Normandy, attended by the duke of Burgundy, marched towards Guienne with a powerful army, which obliged the earl of Derby to stand on the defensive, and to allow the French to carry on the siege of Angouleme. Lord Norwich, the governor, after a brave defence, was reduced to such extremities, as obliged him

him to make use of a stratagem to save his garrison, and prevent his being forced to surrender at discretion. He appeared on the walls, and desiring a parley with the duke of Normandy, that prince came and told him, that he supposed he intended to capitulate. "No, not at all, said the governor; but as to-morrow is the feast of the Virgin, to whom I know that you, Sir, as well as I, bear a great devotion, I desire a cessation of arms for that day." The duke of Normandy readily agreed to the proposal; and Norwich having ordered his forces to prepare their baggage, marched out the next day, and advanced towards the French camp. The besiegers, supposing they were to be attacked, took arms; but Norwich sending a messenger to the duke, reminded him of his agreement, on which the duke, who piqued himself on his strict veracity, exclaimed, "The governor, I see, has out-witted me: but let us be content with gaining the place:" and the English were permitted to pass unmolested through the camp. The duke of Normandy, after having obtained some farther success, invested Aiguillon, which having a strong fortress and a brave garrison, commanded by the earl of Pembroke and Sir Walter Manny, it seemed impossible to take it by assault; and therefore, after having made several unsuccessful attacks, he proposed to reduce it by famine: but before this could be done, he was called to defend a distant part of the kingdom, from the successful ravages of the English.

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The earl of Derby having informed Edward of the danger to which Guienne was exposed, he resolved to relieve it in person; and embarked at Southampton, on board a fleet of near a thousand sail, taking with him his eldest son Edward, prince of Wales, who was now fifteen years of age, and all the principal nobility of England. As the winds for a long time continued contrary, the king was at last persuaded to change his designs, by Geoffry d' Harcourt, a nobleman who was generally esteemed for his personal merit and valour, and had long made a considerable figure in the court of France; but being disoblged and used ill by Philip, had escaped to England, and obtained the favour of Edward, who was an excellent judge of mankind; and now succeeded Robert of Artois in the treacherous office of exciting the king to make war on his native country. He had long maintained, that in the present circumstances of affairs, an expedition to Normandy would probably be attended with greater success than one to Guienne; that the northern provinces would be found almost destitute of military force, the troops being drawn to the south; that they were filled with flourishing cities, which would enrich the English by their plunder; and the neighbourhood of the capital, would render every event of importance. These reasons, to which Edward had before given little attention, now made a great impression on his mind, from the disappointments he had met with in his intended voyage to Guienne; he therefore ordered his
fleet

fleet to sail to Normandy, and in two days landed at la Hogue, on the twelfth of July, 1346.

This army, which made a most glorious campaign, consisted of four thousand men at arms, ten thousand Welch infantry, ten thousand archers, and six thousand Irish. The Irish and Welch were light troops, fitter for doing execution in a pursuit, or in scouring the country, than for solid action. The only steady and regular force in this army, were the men at arms; but these being cavalry, were on that account inferior in the shock of battle, to good infantry; and the whole were new levied troops. The king, on his landing, created the earl of Arundel constable of the army, and the earls of Warwick and Harcourt marshals. He also bestowed the honour of knighthood on the prince of Wales and several of the young nobility. He then sent back the greatest part of his fleet, and ordered the earl of Huntingdon, who commanded the rest, to cruize along the coast, and destroy the ships which the king of France had equipped in different ports, for an invasion of England. This service he performed with great success; and having ravaged the country and burned the towns along the shore, returned to la Hogue, to attend the motions of the army. Edward having refreshed his troops, which had been long pent up in vessels, spread them over the whole country, giving them an unbounded licence to plunder and burn every place of which they became masters; taking care to pre-

prevent any surprize, by ordering his troops, however they might disperse themselves in the day-time, to be always sure to take their quarters at night near the main body. In this manner St. Lo, Monteburg, Valognes, Carentan, and other places in the Cotentin, were plundered without resistance; and the most dreadful consternation spread over the whole province.

The news of this unforeseen invasion soon reaching Paris, involved Philip in the utmost perplexity. He, however, issued orders for raising forces on all sides, and sent the count of Eu, constable of France, and the count of Tankerville, with a body of troops, to the defence of Caen, a populous, trading, but open city, which lay in the neighbourhood of the English army. So rich a prize soon induced Edward to approach it, when the inhabitants, encouraged by their numbers, and by the reinforcements which daily came in from the country, ventured to meet him in the field; but on the first shock, their courage failed; and flying with precipitation, the counts of Eu and Tankerville were taken prisoners, and the conquerors entered the city along with the vanquished, and a furious and dreadful slaughter commenced, without distinction of age or sex. The citizens, reduced to despair, barricadoed their houses, and assailed the English from their tops, and from the windows, with stones, bricks, and every missile weapon. The English endeavoured to defend themselves from the enemies they could not reach, by setting the

houses on fire, till Edward, anxious to save both his soldiers and the spoil, put a stop to the massacre, obliged the inhabitants to lay down their arms, and gave a licence to his troops to plunder the city with more regularity and less hazard. The pillage continued during three days; Edward reserving for his own share the plate, jewels, silks, fine cloth and fine linen, and bestowing all the rest of the spoil on his army; all which was sent on board the ships, and carried to England, with three hundred of the richest citizens of Caen, from whose ransom he expected to raise afterwards an additional profit. At this dismal scene were present two cardinal legates, who came to endeavour to negotiate a peace between the two nations.

Edward now marched to Rouen, in order to treat that city in the same manner; but had the mortification to find, that they had already broken down the bridge over the Seine, and that Philip himself, with a great army, was arrived there. He then proceeded along the banks of that river towards Paris, ravaging the whole country, and destroying every town and village he met with on his way. Some of his light troops extended their ravages even to the gates of Paris; and the royal palace of St. Germain's, with Ruelle, Nanterre, and other villages, were reduced to ashes, within sight of the capital. Edward proposed to pass the river at Poissy, but found the bridge at that place, as well as all others over the Seine, broken
down

down by Philip's orders, and the French encamped on the opposite banks.

The king now found that the French intended to inclose him, in hopes of attacking him on all sides with advantage: but he saved himself from this dangerous situation by a stratagem. He ordered his army to dislodge, and advance farther up the Seine, but soon returning by the same road, arrived at Poissy, which the French had already quitted, in order to attend his motions; and having, with incredible celerity, repaired the bridge, passed over with his army, and advanced by quick marches towards Flanders. His van-guard, under the command of Harcourt, meeting with the townsmen of Amiens, who were halting to reinforce Philip, defeated them with great slaughter. He then passed by Beauvais, and burned the suburbs; but, on his approaching the river Somme, found himself under the same difficulty as before; all the bridges being broken down or strongly guarded. An army under the command of Godemar de Faye appeared on the opposite bank: from the other quarter, Philip was advancing with an army of 100,000 men; and thus he was exposed to the danger of being inclosed, and of starving in an enemy's country. Being reduced to this extremity, he offered a reward to any one that should inform him of a passage over the Somme; on which a peasant, tempted to sacrifice to his own interest that of his country, informed Edward of a ford which had a sound bottom, below Abbeville, and

might be passed at low-water without difficulty. The king hasted thither, but found de Faye on the opposite banks; yet being compelled by necessity, he, without hesitation, plunged into the river, sword in hand, at the head of his troops; drove the enemy from their station, and put them to flight. So narrow was the escape, which Edward had made by his celerity and prudence, that Philip, at the head of the French army, arrived at the ford while the rear-guard were passing; but the rising of the tide prevented his crossing the river, and obliged him to lose time, by going round by the bridge of Abbeville.

Edward was doubtless sensible that Philip, at the head of such a prodigious army, was impatient to revenge the disgrace of having so great a part of his kingdom ravaged by an inferior enemy. He was but a little way before him, and perceived the danger of marching over the plains of Picardy, and thus exposing his rear to be frequently attacked by the numerous cavalry with which the French army abounded. He therefore prudently resolved to stand a battle: he chose his ground with advantage near the village of Crecy; and having disposed his army in excellent order, resolved to wait in tranquillity for the arrival of the enemy, hoping that their eagerness to prevent his retreat, would hurry them on to some rash and ill-concerted measures.

He drew up his army, consisting of 30,000 men, on a gentle ascent, and divided them into three lines. The first was commanded by the

the prince of Wales, and under him by the earls of Warwick and Oxford, by Harcourt, Stafford, Chandois, and other noblemen, with the flower of the English nobility: the earls of Arundel and Northampton, with the lords Willoughby, Roos, Bassett, Multon, and Sir Lewis Tufon, were at the head of the second line. These two lines were formed in such a manner as to support each other; and the second outflanked the first, to prevent its being surrounded by the enemy. The king himself took the command of the third division, which was posted on the brow of the hill behind the other two; and was attended by the lords Mowbray, Mortimer, Dugworth, Sir Hugh Hastings, and other persons of distinction. The king in this station proposed either to bring succour to the two first lines, to push any advantage against the enemy, or in case of any misfortune, to secure a retreat. He likewise took the precaution to throw up trenches on his flanks, to secure himself from the numerous bodies of the French, who might attack him from that quarter; and placed all his baggage behind him in a wood, which he likewise secured by an intrenchment.

The minds of the soldiers were greatly composed by the skill and order of this disposition, and the tranquility with which it was made. The king, in order still farther to revive their spirits, rode through the ranks with such an air of alacrity and cheerfulness, as filled every beholder with the highest confidence. He shewed them the inevitable destruction which

awaited them, if, in their present situation, inclosed on all sides in an enemy's country, they trusted to any thing but their own valour, or gave that enemy an opportunity of revenging the many insults and indignities they had made him suffer. He reminded them of the great success they had hitherto had against all the bodies of French troops, with which they had lately encountered; and assured them, that the superior numbers which at present hovered round them, was an advantage easily compensated by the order in which his own army was placed, and the firm resolution he expected from his brave followers. He said, he only asked them to imitate his own example, and that of the young prince of Wales; and the honour, the lives, the liberties of all being now exposed to the same danger, he was persuaded, that they would make one unanimous effort to extricate themselves from their present difficulties, and that, by their united courage, they would obtain the victory.

Some historians of that age, and particularly John Villani, have observed, that Edward, besides his other resources, placed in his front some pieces of artillery, the first that had yet been used on any remarkable occasion. This invention was at this time known in France, as well as in England; but Philip, in his haste to overtake the enemy, had probably left his behind him, and all his other movements discovered the same imprudent precipitation. Impelled by anger, and confiding in his great superiority of numbers, he thought, that could he

he but once reach the enemy, his victory would be certain and inevitable. He marched in haste and confusion from Abbeville; but having advanced above two leagues, some gentlemen, whom he had dispatched to take a view of the enemy, returned with the intelligence, that they had seen the English waiting for him in great order. They advised him to defer the battle till the next day, that his army might have time to recover from their fatigue, and be disposed in better order than the present hurry would permit.

Philip consented; but the impatience of the French nobility made it impossible for him to prevent the battle. This immense body was too undisciplined to be manageable; one division pressed upon another; and the orders to stop were not instantly conveyed to all. The French army arrived in presence of the English, when they were already fatigued, and imperfectly formed into three lines. The first, which consisted of 15,000 Genoese cross-bowmen, was commanded by Anthony Doria and Charles Grimaldi: at the head of the second was the count of Alençon, the French king's brother. Philip was at the head of the third. Besides their prince, there were no less than three crowned heads in his army; the king of Bohemia, his son, the king of the Romans, and the king of Majorca, with all the nobility and great vassals of the crown of France. His army now consisted of above 120,000 men, which was more than three times the number of the English.

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On their approach, the English kept their ranks firm and immoveable; and the attack was begun by the Genoese: but there having happened a thunder-shower a little before the engagement, the strings of the Genoese cross-bows were moistened and relaxed; on which account their arrows fell short of the enemy. Instantly the English archers taking their bows out of their cases, sent a shower of arrows upon this multitude, and throwing the Genoese into disorder, they fell back upon the count of Alençon's heavy-armed cavalry; and he being enraged at their cowardice, ordered his troops to put them to the sword. Mean while the artillery fired amidst the crowd; the English archers continued to pour in their arrows; and that vast body became a scene of hurry and confusion.

At this instant, the young prince of Wales had the presence of mind to lead on his line to the charge. When the French cavalry recovering some degree of order, encouraged by the example of their leader, made a stout resistance; and having at length cleared themselves of the Genoese who had been put to flight, advanced upon the English; and from their superior numbers, began to hem them round. The earls of Northampton and Arundel now advanced with their line to support the prince, who, ardent in his first feats of arms, set an example of bravery that was imitated by all his followers. For some time the battle was extremely hot and dangerous, on which the earl of Warwick dreading the event from the superior

superior numbers of the French, sent a messenger to the king, with entreaties to dispatch succours for the prince's relief. Edward, who had chosen his station on the top of the hill, from whence he surveyed in tranquility the scene of action, on being accosted by the messenger, first asked, whether the prince was slain or wounded, and on receiving an answer in the negative, said, "Return to my son, " and tell him, that I reserve the honour of this " day to him. I am confident that he will shew " himself worthy of the honour of knighthood, " which I so lately conferred upon him, and " that, without my assistance, he will be able " to repel the enemy." This speech being repeated to the prince and his attendants, inspired them with fresh courage. They attacked the French with redoubled vigour: the count of Alençon was slain; that whole line of cavalry was thrown into disorder: the men were killed or dismounted, and the Welch infantry rushing into the throng, with their long knives, cut the throats of all who had fallen, and the victors gave no quarter.

In vain did Philip advance with the rear, to sustain the line which had been commanded by his brother: he found it already defeated, and the rout of that body increased the confusion, which was before too visible in his own line. He himself had a horse killed under him: he was remounted, and though left almost alone, seemed resolved to maintain the combat; when John of Hainault seizing the reins of his bridle, turned about his horse, and led him off
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the field of battle. The whole French army fled, the English followed them, and without the least mercy, put all they overtook to the sword, till the darkness of the night put an end to the pursuit.

Edward, on his return to the camp, flew into the arms of the prince of Wales, crying, "My brave son, persevere in your honourable course: you are my son, for valiantly have you acquitted yourself to-day, you have shewn yourself worthy of empire." This victory, which is known by the name of the battle of Crecy, was fought on the twenty-sixth of August, 1346. It began after three o'clock in the afternoon, and continued till the evening. The next morning was foggy; and the English observing that many of the enemy had lost their way in the night, and in the fog, made use of a stratagem to bring them into their power. On the neighbouring eminences they erected some French standards, which had been taken in the battle; and all who were allured to resort to this false signal, were put to the sword without quarter. In excuse for this inhumanity it was alledged, that the French king had given orders to allow no quarters to the English; but probably the real reason was, that Edward, in his present situation, did not chuse to be incumbered with prisoners. On the day of the battle, and that which followed, there fell, by a moderate computation, twelve thousand French knights, fourteen hundred gentlemen, four thousand men at arms, and about 30,000 of inferior rank.

rank. Besides many of the chief of the French nobility, there were the dukes of Bourbon and Lorrain, and the earls of Flanders, Aumale, Beaumont, and Blois, were also left in the field of battle. The kings of Bohemia and Majorca were also slain. The fate of the former was remarkable: though he was blind from age, he resolved to set an example to others, and ordered the reins of his bridle to be tied on each side to the horses of two gentlemen of his train: his dead body, with those of his attendants, were afterwards found among the dead, with their horses standing by them in that position. He wore on his crest three ostrich feathers, with this motto in German; *Ich DIEN*, or *I SERVE*; which the prince of Wales and his successors adopted in remembrance of this great victory. This action appeared no less remarkable from the small loss sustained by the English; than from the great slaughter of the French: there being killed in it only one esquire and three knights, with very few of inferior rank; which is a plain demonstration that Edward's prudent disposition, and the disorderly attack made by the French, rendered the whole rather a rout than a battle.

Edward was so far from being elated by his present victory, as to expect from it the conquest of France, or even that of any considerable provinces, that he only proposed to secure an easy entrance into that kingdom; and therefore limited his ambition to the conquest of Calais; and having employed a few days in
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interring the slain, he marched with his victorious army, and sat down before that place. It was governed by John of Vienne, a valiant knight of Burgundy, and being well supplied with plenty of stores, the governor encouraged the townsmen to exert themselves in defending the place. Hence Edward being sensible from the first, that it would be in vain to attempt the reduction of it by force, proposed to reduce it by famine. Having chosen a secure station for his camp, he drew intrenchments round the whole city; caused huts to be raised for his soldiers, covered with thatch or broom, and furnished his army with all the conveniencies necessary to enable them to endure the approaching winter season. The governor soon perceiving his intention, expelled all the useless mouths; and the king had the humanity to allow those unhappy people to pass through his camp, and even to supply them with money for their journey.

During the time which this siege lasted, there passed many other events to the honour of the English arms in different places.

By the duke of Normandy's retreat from Guienne, the earl of Derby was left master of the field, of which he immediately took advantage. He took Mirebeau and Lusignan, by assault: Tailleburg, and St. Jean d'Angeli fell into his hands; and Poitiers opened its gates to him. Derby having thus broken into the frontiers of France on that quarter, extended his incursions to the banks of the Loire,
and

and filled all the southern provinces of France with desolation and terror.

At the same time Charles of Blois, invading Brittany with a considerable army, invested the fortress of Roche de Rien; but the brave countess of Montfort being reinforced by some English troops under Sir Thomas Dagworth, attacked him in his intrenchments during the night, dispersed his army, and took Charles himself prisoner. His lady, by whom he enjoyed his pretensions to Brittany, now took on herself the government of the party, and rivalled the countess of Montfort her antagonist, both in the field and the cabinet. While these heroic ladies thus distinguished themselves, another princess of still higher rank, appeared in the list of military glory.

The Scotch, after defending for a long time their liberties against the English, recalled David Bruce their king in 1342. While Edward was making a successful invasion of France, David was strongly solicited by Philip, to ravage the northern counties of England; and the Scots being always forward in such incursions, he soon assembled a great army, entered Northumberland at the head of above 50,000 men, and carried his devastations as far as the gates of Durham. Upon this occasion queen Philippa, raising a body of about twelve thousand men, placed them under the command of lord Piercy, and riding through their ranks, exhorted them to do their duty, and to be revenged on the barbarous ravagers: nor would she leave the field till the

two armies were on the point of engaging. The Scots never received a more fatal blow than on this occasion : fifteen thousand of them, or, according to other historians, twenty thousand, were slain, among whom were Edward Keith, earl marshal, and Sir Thomas Charteris, chancellor ; and the king himself, after behaving with great intrepidity, was taken prisoner, with the earls of Sutherland, Monteith, Fife, Carrick, lord Douglas, and many other noblemen. This victory was obtained on the 17th of October, 1346.

Queen Phillippa secured her royal prisoner in the Tower of London, and then crossing the sea from Dover, sailed to the English camp before Calais, where she was received with all the honours due to her rank, her merit, and success. As this was the age of chivalry and gallantry, Edward's court excelled in these, as much as in arms and policy.

Calais had been defended with remarkable vigilance and bravery by the townsmen, during a siege of almost twelve months ; when Philip being informed of their distressed condition, marched to their relief, and approached the English with an army, which, according to the writers of that age, amounted to 200,000 men : but Edward's camp was so surrounded with morasses, and secured by strong entrenchments, that Philip found it impossible to attack it, without running on inevitable destruction ; and therefore, after sending Edward a challenge to meet him in the open field, which was refused, he was obliged to decamp with

with his army, and suffer his soldiers to disperse to their several provinces.

Calais being reduced to the last extremity, by famine and the fatigue of the inhabitants, John of Vienne, the governor, saw the necessity of surrendering; and therefore, appearing on the walls, made a signal to the English centinels, that he desired a parley. Edward sent to him Sir Walter Manny, whom the governor thus addressed, " Brave knight, I have
 " been entrusted by my sovereign with the
 " command of this city. You have besieged
 " me almost a year; and both I, and those
 " under me, have endeavoured to do our duty.
 " You are acquainted with our present condition: we have no hopes of relief: we
 " are perishing with hunger: I am therefore
 " willing to surrender; and, as the sole condition, only desire to ensure the lives and
 " liberties of these brave men, who in every
 " danger and fatigue have so long shared
 " with me."

Sir Walter answered, that he was well informed of the king of England's intentions; who was exasperated at the townsmen of Calais for their obstinate resistance, and for the evils they had made him and his subjects suffer; and that he would not receive the town on any terms that would prevent his shewing his resentment against them. " Consider, replied
 " Vienne, that brave men are not intitled to
 " this treatment: if an English knight had
 " been in my situation, your king would have
 " expected that he would have behaved in the

“ same manner. The inhabitants of Calais
 “ have done for their sovereign, what claims
 “ the esteem of every prince, and much
 “ more, of so gallant a prince as Edward.
 “ But you ought to be informed, that if we
 “ must perish, we will not perish unrevenge,
 “ and that we are not yet so reduced, but that
 “ we can sell our lives at a high price to the
 “ victors. But it is for the interest of both
 “ sides to prevent these desperate extremities;
 “ and I expect that you, brave knight, will
 “ interpose your good offices with Edward, in
 “ our behalf.”

Struck with the justness of these sentiments,
 Manny represented to the king, the danger of
 reprisals should he treat the inhabitants of
 Calais with unusual rigour; and Edward was at
 last induced to mitigate the conditions he de-
 manded; but insisted, that six of the most con-
 siderable citizens should be sent to him, to be
 punished as he thought proper; that they should
 come bare-footed and bare-headed to his camp,
 with ropes about their necks, and carrying the
 keys of the city in their hands; promising, on
 these conditions, to spare the lives of all the rest.

This intelligence was no sooner conveyed to
 Calais, than the inhabitants were struck with
 the utmost consternation. The sacrifice of six
 of their fellow citizens to certain destruction,
 for bravely distinguishing themselves in the
 common cause, appeared even more severe than
 the general punishment with which Edward had
 before threatened them; and in this cruel and
 distressful situation, they were incapable of
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The surrender of Calais to Edward the III. Anno 1347.

coming to any resolution. At last, Eustace de St Pierre, whose name deserves to be for ever mentioned with honour, and who was one of the principal inhabitants, stepped forward, and declared his willingness to purchase, by his death, the safety of his friends and companions: animated by his example, another made the same generous offer: a third, a fourth, a fifth and a sixth soon presented themselves to suffer the same fate; and these appearing before Edward in the manner prescribed, laid the keys of their city at his feet, and Edward ordered them to be led to execution. Nothing can be more surprizing than that a prince, otherwise so generous, should have entertained so barbarous a thought, and that he should seriously persist in his resolution of putting them to death. But he was preserved from that infamy, by the entreaties of Phillippa, his queen, who threw herself on her knees before him, and bursting into tears, begged the lives of these brave citizens. Having obtained her request, she took them with her into her tent, ordered a repast to be set before them, and at length, having made them a present of money and clothes, dismissed them in safety.

Edward took possession of Calais on the fourth of August, 1347, and immediately executed a more justifiable and more necessary act of rigour. Knowing that all the French considered him as their mortal enemy, he ordered all the inhabitants to leave the town, and repeopled it with English. He rendered it the staple of wool, tin, lead, and leather.

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All the English were obliged to send those goods thither ; and foreign merchants were to resort to the same place to purchase them.

In 1348, Edward, by the mediation of the pope's legates, concluded a truce with France : yet during this cessation of arms, he was very near losing Calais, the sole fruit of his victories. He had entrusted that place to the command of an Italian, named Aimery de Pavie, who had shewn great bravery and conduct in the war ; but being destitute of every principle of honour, agreed to deliver it up to Geoffry de Charni, commander of the French forces in those parts, for the sum of 20,000 crowns ; and Charni, without consulting his master, concluded the bargain with him. Aimery's secretary, informed Edward of this treachery ; and that prince, on other pretences, summoned the governor to London ; where having charged him with the guilt, he promised him his life, on condition of his turning the contrivance to the destruction of the enemy : and the Italian readily agreed to this double treachery. A day being appointed for introducing the French, Edward, with about a thousand men, under Sir Walter Manny, secretly departed from London, taking with him the prince of Wales ; and without the least suspicion, arrived at Calais the evening before. Having prepared for the reception of the enemy, and kept his forces and the garrison under arms, Charni no sooner appeared, than a chosen band of French soldiers was admitted at a postern ; and Aimery, on receiving the stipulated
sum,

sum, promised that, with their assistance, he would instantly open the great gate to the troops, who were waiting without. All the French, who had entered, were instantly slain or taken prisoners. The great gate opened, and Edward rushed forth with cries of victory. The French, though astonished, behaved with great bravery ; and a fierce and bloody battle ensued. As the morning broke, the king who fought as a private man, under the standard of Sir Walter Manny, observed a French gentleman, named Eustace de Ribeaumont, who fought with singular valour, and was seized with the desire of fighting him in single combat : stepping forth from his troop, he challenged Ribeaumont, whom he knew by name ; and a sharp and dangerous encounter began. He was twice staggered by the Frenchman, and as often recovered himself : their blows were redoubled on both sides with equal force ; and the victory remained long undecided, till Ribeaumont, finding that he was almost left alone, called out to his antagonist, " Sir knight, I yield myself your prisoner," delivering, at the same time, his sword to the king.

The French prisoners were conducted into Calais, and not only treated by Edward with great courtesy ; but the officers were admitted to sup with the prince of Wales and the English nobility. After supper, the king entered the apartment, and conversed familiarly with different prisoners ; and, in an obliging manner, addressed himself to Charni, whom he did not reproach with the treacherous attempt he had made

made on Calais during the truce. He bestowed the highest praises on Ribeaumont, whom he called the most valourous knight, with whom he had ever been acquainted ; and acknowledged that he had never been in such danger as when engaged in combat with him. Then taking a string of pearls which he himself wore, and throwing it over Ribeaumont's head, said, " Sir Eustace, I make you this present
 " as a testimony of my esteem for your bravery,
 " and desire you to wear it a year, for my
 " sake. I know that you are gay and amorous, and take delight in the company of the
 " ladies : let them all know from whom you
 " received the present. You are no longer
 " a prisoner ; I excuse your ransom ; and to
 " morrow you shall be at liberty to dispose of
 " yourself as you please."

Edward's prudent conduct, and great success in his foreign wars, excited a strong emulation among the English nobility, who warmly attached themselves to a prince that led them to the acquisition of wealth and glory. In order that he might farther promote the spirit of emulation and obedience, he, in 1349, instituted the order of the Garter, in imitation of some other orders of the same kind, both military and religious, that had been established in different parts of Europe. The number of the knights, besides the sovereign, consisted of twenty-five persons ; and, as it had never been enlarged, this badge of distinction is still no less honourable than it was at its first institution.



*A Knight of the Garter; in the
Habit and Ensigns of his Order.*

The origin of this order is endeavoured to be given, by a story that is unsupported by any ancient authority; which is, that at a court-ball, the countess of Salisbury, Edward's mistress, dropped her garter; and the king, on his taking it up, observed some of the courtiers to smile, as if they supposed he had not obtained this favour merely by accident: upon which he called out, *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, Evil to him that evil thinks; and as every piece of gallantry was then magnified into a matter of great importance, he instituted the order of the Garter, in memory of this event, and gave these words as the motto of the order. Indeed, this origin is not unsuitable to the manners of the times.

A sudden damp was, however, thrown on this festivity, by a destructive pestilence which invaded both this kingdom and all the rest of Europe; and is said to have swept away, in every country, near one-third of the inhabitants, and that fifty thousand persons perished by it in London alone. It is said that this dreadful visitation raged chiefly among the common people, and that no person of distinction died of the infection, except there or four of the nobility, and Jane the king's second daughter, who was infected at Bourdeaux, in her way to Castile, where she was to have been married to the infant Don Pedro, the son of Alphonso XI. sovereign of that kingdom. When the contagion abated among the human species, the sheep and oxen perished in great numbers, and as no beast or bird of prey would touch

touch their carcases, they lay putrifying on the ground. The harvest was lost for want of hands to gather it, and thence followed a dreadful famine. The Scots taking advantage of the pestilence, invaded the northern counties, and together with a large booty carried back the contagion to their own country, where it made a terrible havoc. This dreadful calamity, served to prolong the truce between England and France.

In the mean time, king Philip de Valois died, without being able to restore the affairs of France, which Edward, by his victories, had thrown into extreme disorder. He was succeeded by his son John, who was distinguished by his many virtues, particularly a scrupulous honour and fidelity; but his kingdom was disturbed by intestine commotions. The truce being expired in 1355, Edward was pleased that the factions in France had, at length, gained him some partizans there, which his pretensions to the crown had never been able to acquire for him; he therefore proposed to invade France on two sides; that his son should enter it from Guienne, while he attacked that kingdom, by entering it at Calais.

Edward the Black Prince, sailed with a fleet of three hundred ships, and was attended by the earls of Salisbury, Warwick, Suffolk, Oxford, and other English noblemen: and landing at Bourdeaux, was joined by the most considerable of the Gascon nobility, by which means he was at the head of an army of sixty thousand men; the disorders in France prevented-

venting every proper plan of defence, he, according to the mode of war in that age carried on his ravages and devastations with impunity, plundering the inhabitants, dismantling their fortresses, and laying the towns and villages in ashes. He then advanced to Toulouse, where the French army, which exceeded his own in number, was encamped; but having in vain endeavoured to provoke the generals to give him battle, he passed the Garonne above the city, and burned all the fine towns in its neighbourhood. From thence he advanced to Avignonet, which, with several other important places, he destroyed; and, in short, entirely ruined one of the most rich and fertile countries in France. The inhabitants of Montpellier burned their suburbs, in expectation of being besieged; and pope Innocent, who resided at Avignon, sent ambassadors to him, with proposals for setting on foot another treaty; but without admitting them to an audience, he referred them to his father. Innocent, affronted and alarmed at the little respect shewn to his deputies, began to fortify his palace, and detached his marshal with five hundred men at arms to observe the motions of the English: when that officer advancing too near the prince's army, was defeated and taken, and obliged to pay fifty thousand crowns for his ransom. In fine, after an incursion of six weeks, the prince returned with many prisoners, and a vast booty, to Guienne, where he took up his winter quarters. The constable of Bourbonne, though he was at the head of a superior army, and

and had the command of those provinces, received orders not to run the hazard of a battle on any account.

Edward's incursion from Calais, was attended with the same success. He advanced into France, at the head of a numerous army, whom he allowed to plunder and ravage the open country. He proceeded to St. Omers, where king John himself was posted; and that prince retiring from thence, he followed him to Hesdin. The king of France still keeping at a distance, declined an engagement; but to save his reputation, sent Edward a challenge to fight a pitched battle with him: but Edward finding that there was no sincerity in this defiance, retired to Calais, and from thence passed over to England, in order to oppose a threatened invasion of the Scots.

That nation taking advantage of the king's absence, with the forces of England, had surprized Berwick, and raised an army, in order to ravage the northern provinces: but on Edward's approach, they abandoned that town, which they were unable to keep, while the English were in possession of the castle; and seeking protection in their mountains, gave the king full liberty of burning and destroying the whole country, from Berwick to Edinburgh. Edward was attended in this expedition by Baliol, who finding that his adhering so constantly to the English had raised in his countrymen an unconquerable aversion to his title, and that he himself was declining through age and infirmities, he resigned his pretensions to the

the crown of Scotland, into the king's hands, and in lieu of them received an annual pension of two thousand pounds, with which he lived during the rest of his life, in privacy and retirement.

Edward, in the mean time, received an account of the encreasing disorders in France, occasioned by the king of Navarre being thrown into prison; and to support the partizans of that prince, he sent Lancaster, at the head of a small army, into Normandy. The war was conducted with various success, but mostly to the disadvantage of the French malecontents, till a very important event in another part of the kingdom threw every thing into the utmost confusion, and was very near proving fatal to the monarchy of France.

In 1356 the prince of Wales, encouraged by his success in the last campaign, took the field with an army, which is represented by all historians, as not exceeding twelve thousand men, and of which, not a third were English; and ventured to penetrate with this small body into the heart of France. After ravaging the Agenois, the Limosin and Quercy, he entered Berry, and made some unsuccessful attacks on the towns of Bourges and Issoudun. He seemed to intend to march into Normandy, and there to join his forces with those of the earl of Lancaster, and the partizans of the king of Navarre; but as he found all the bridges on the Loire broken down, and every pass carefully guarded, he resolved to retreat into Guienne. This resolution appeared the more ne-

cessary, from his receiving intelligence of the motions of the French king. John, provoked at the insult offered him by this incursion, flattered himself with the hopes of success from the temerity of the young prince, and having assembled an army of above sixty thousand men, advanced by hasty marches to intercept him. The prince, not knowing of king John's near approach while on his retreat, lost some days before the castle of Remorantin, and by this means, the French were enabled to overtake him. They came within sight of each other at Maupertuis, near Poitiers, when the prince of Wales, being sensible that it was impossible for him to continue his retreat, prepared for battle with all the courage and spirit of a young hero, and with all the prudence of an old experienced general.

Indeed, the utmost courage and prudence would, in this extremity, have proved insufficient to save him, had John known how to improve his present advantages. His great superiority in numbers might have enabled him to surround the enemy, and by intercepting all provisions, which were already become scarce in the English camp, he might have reduced that small army to the necessity of surrendering at discretion, without a blow. But such was the impatient ardour of the French nobility, that this idea never struck any of the commanders; and they instantly prepared for the assault, as for a certain victory.

When the French army was drawn up in order of battle, it was stopped by the cardinal

dinal of Perigord, who, on hearing of the approach of the two armies, had hasted thither just as John was going to begin the battle, to prevent, by interposing his good offices, any farther effusion of Christian blood; and running up to the king, conjured him to spare the lives of so many French gentlemen, as would certainly be lost in the attack, by allowing him to repair to the English camp, where he did not doubt of being able to persuade the prince of Wales to surrender. John consented, and allowed him to carry proposals to the prince, whom he found so sensible of the unhappy situation of his affairs, that it did not appear impracticable to procure an accommodation. The young prince told him, that he was willing to agree to any terms consistent with his own honour and that of England; and therefore would consent to purchase a retreat by resigning all the conquests he had made during this and the last campaign; and to stipulate not to serve against France, during seven years. John, however, imagining that he had already in his possession a sufficient pledge for the restitution of Calais, insisted on his surrendering himself prisoner, with a hundred of his attendants; and on these terms, offered the English army a safe retreat. Prince Edward rejected the proposal with disdain, declaring, that whatever fortune might attend him, England should never be constrained to pay the price of his ransom. This resolute answer put an end to all thoughts of an accommodation; but the day being already spent

in negotiating, the battle was deferred till the next morning.

Though cardinal Perigord was extremely attached to the French interest, he could not have done John's affairs a greater injury than by occasioning this delay. During the night, the prince of Wales had leisure to strengthen the post, which he had before judiciously chosen, by new intrenchments. He also contrived an ambush of three hundred archers, and as many men at arms, whom he placed under the command of the Captal de Buche, and ordered him to make a circuit, and during the engagement, fall on the flank or rear of the French army. The van of his own army was commanded by the earl of Warwick, the main body by the prince himself, and the rear by the earls of Salisbury and Suffolk. At the head of the different bodies of his army, were the lords Audley, Chandois, and many other brave and experienced commanders.

John likewise disposed his forces into three divisions: the first commanded by the duke of Orleans, the king's brother; the second by the dauphin, attended by his two younger brothers; and the third by the king in person, who had by his side Philip, his fourth son and favourite, who was then about fourteen years of age. The only way of coming at the English army was through a narrow lane, with hedges on each side; and, in order to open this passage, the marshals Clermont and Andrehen, were ordered to advance through it with a separate detachment of men at arms.

While

While they were marching along the lane, a body of English archers, who lined the hedges, gauged them on each side with their arrows; and being very near, and yet placed in perfect safety, coolly took their aim, and slaughtered them with impunity. - The French detachment diminished in their number, and discouraged by the unequal combat, arrived at the end of the lane, where they met on the open ground, the prince of Wales, at the head of a chosen body, ready for their reception, by whom they were soon overthrown, one of the marshals slain, and the other taken prisoner; when the remainder of the detachment, who were still in the lane, exposed to the shot of the enemy, without being able to make any resistance, recoiled upon their own army, and threw every thing into disorder. In that critical moment, the captal de Buche unexpectedly appeared, and attacking in flank the dauphin's line, threw it into confusion. Bodenai, St. Venant, and Landas, to whom had been committed the care of the young prince and his brothers, too anxious for their safety, carried them off the field of battle, and thus set the example of flight, which was followed by that whole division. The duke of Orleans being seized with a like panic, and supposing all was lost, also carried off his division by a retreat, which was soon turned into a flight. Lord Chandois then calling out to the prince that the day was won, he boldly attacked the division under king John, which, notwithstanding its being more numerous than the whole English army, was

struck with consternation at the precipitate flight of their companions. Here John strove, by his valour, to retrieve what had been lost by his imprudence; and the only resistance made that day, was by his line of battle. The prince of Wales rushed with eager impetuosity on some German cavalry placed in the front, under the command of the counts of Sallesbruche, Nosto, and Nido: a fierce battle ensued: one side animated with the glorious prospect of so great a victory; and the other stimulated by the shame of quitting the field to such an inferior enemy. The three German generals, with the duke of Athens, constable of France, being slain, that body of cavalry gave way, and left the king himself exposed to the fury of the English. Every moment the ranks were thinned around him: his nobles, one after another, fell by his side: his son, scarce fourteen years of age, received a wound while fighting with great bravery in the defence of his father. John himself, spent with fatigue, and overwhelmed by numbers, might, with great ease, have been slain; but every English gentleman, being ambitious of taking the royal prisoner alive, spared him in the action, and offering him quarter, exhorted him to surrender; while several who attempted to seize him suffered for their rashness. He cried out, "Where is my cousin, the prince of Wales?" and appeared unwilling to become prisoner to any inferior person. But being at length told, that the prince was at a distance, he threw down his gauntlet, and surrendered to

to Dennis de Morbec, a knight of Arras; and the young prince his son was taken with him.

Prince Edward, who had been engaged in the pursuit of the enemy, finding the field clear, had caused a tent to be pitched, and was reposing himself after the toils of the battle; at the same time enquiring with great eagerness about the fate of the king of France. Having sent the earl of Warwick to bring him intelligence, that nobleman came happily in time to save the life of the captive prince, which was exposed to the greatest danger. The English had taken him by violence from Morbec: the Gascons claimed the honour of detaining him, and some brutal soldiers threatened to put him to death rather than deliver him up. Warwick over-awed both parties; and approaching the king in a most respectful manner, offered to conduct him to the prince's tent.

The heroic prince Edward, who was only twenty-seven years of age, and not yet cool from the ardour of battle, though elated by as extraordinary an instance of success as ever crowned the arms of any commander, went forth to meet the king with all the marks of sympathy and regard; administered comfort to him; paid him the tribute of praise due to his valour, and ascribed his own victory to the blind chance of war, or to a superior providence, which controuls all the efforts of human power and prudence. This generous and noble conduct shews Edward in a much greater light than all his victories. John's behaviour
shewed

shewed him not unworthy of this courteous treatment: more touched by Edward's generosity than by his own calamities, he returned his compliments, and assured the prince, that since he was obliged to yield the victory, it gave him pleasure to think, that it was gained by a prince of such valour and humanity.

Edward, on conducting his royal prisoner to his tent, ordered a repast to be prepared, and he himself served him at table, as if he had been one of his retinue: while the king was eating, he stood at his back, and constantly refused to sit down to the table, declaring, that as he himself was a subject, he was too well acquainted with the distance between his own rank and that of royal majesty, to assume such freedom. His father's pretensions to the crown of France were now buried in oblivion: John, while a prisoner, received the honours of a king: his misfortunes intitled him to respect, and the French prisoners, doubly conquered by this elevation of mind, burst into tears of admiration.

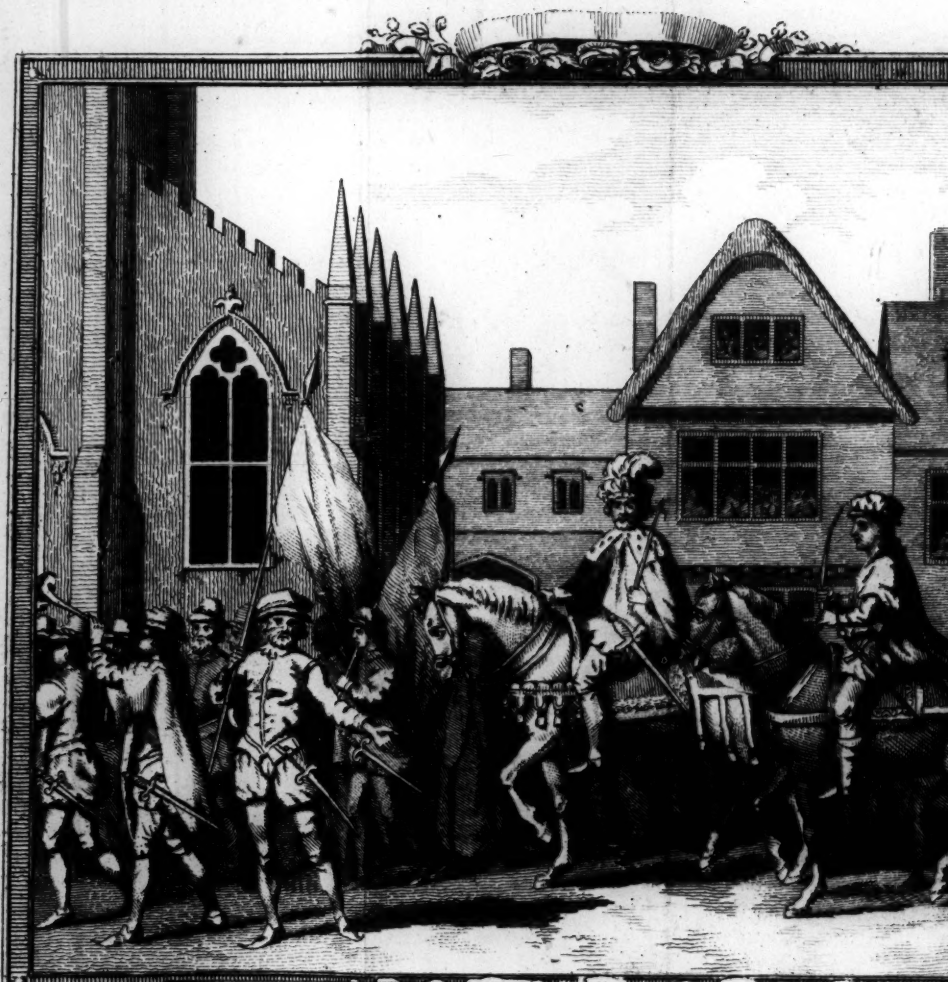
The generous example set by the prince of Wales was imitated by all the English and Gascon knights; hence the captives were every where treated with humanity; and on their paying moderate ransoms to the persons into whose hands they had fallen, were soon after dismissed. On this occasion, the extent of their fortunes was considered, and attention was paid to their having sufficient means left to support their rank and quality. Yet the noble prisoners were so numerous, that these ransoms,

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*Edward the Black Prince conducting John King of France
a Prisoner through London, 24 May 1357.*

Published as the Act directs, 1 March 1774, by J. Johnson S^t Pauls Ch. Yard.

added to the spoils taken in the field, were sufficient to enrich the prince's army, who had suffered very little in the action.

This great victory was obtained on the 19th of September, 1356, without the loss of one person of distinction among the English; tho' the French left two dukes, nineteen counts, five thousand men at arms, and about eight thousand infantry. Two thousand men at arms were taken prisoners, among whom were three princes of the blood, the archbishop of Sens, the counts of Estampes and Vaudemont, and many other noblemen.

King John was conducted to Bourdeaux by the prince of Wales; who not having forces sufficient to improve his advantages, concluded a truce with France for two years, and then conducted his royal captive in safety to England. He landed at Southwark on the 24th of May, and was met by a great concourse of people of all ranks. The prisoner was clothed in royal apparel, and mounted on a white steed, distinguished by its size, its beauty, and the richness of its furniture. The conqueror rode by his side on a black palfrey, in a less splendid attire. They were met in Southwark by the mayor and aldermen in their formalities, with a thousand citizens on horseback; and thus passed through the crowded streets of London, in a modest procession, infinitely more glorious than the vain parade of a Roman triumph. In this manner he presented the French king to his father, at Westminster, who was seated on a royal throne, and on his appearance,



pearance, descended from it, advanced to meet him, and received him with the same respect, as if he had been a neighbouring prince who had voluntarily come to pay him a friendly visit.

When the king of France arrived in England, the king of Scotland had been eleven years a captive in Edward's hands, and the good fortune of this last monarch had at once the two neighbouring potentates, with whom he had been at war, prisoners in his capital. But now finding that the conquest of Scotland was not at all advanced by the captivity of its sovereign; and that the government, conducted by Robert Stuart, his nephew and heir, was still able to defend itself, consented to restore David Bruce to liberty, for the ransom of 100,000 marks; and that prince delivered the sons of his principal nobility as hostages for the payment.

In 1358, the captivity of John produced in France an almost total dissolution of civil authority, and occasioned such horrible and destructive confusions, as hath scarce ever been experienced in any other age or nation. The dauphin, who was now about eighteen years of age, naturally assumed the royal power; but though he had an excellent capacity, he had neither sufficient experience nor authority to defend a state assailed at once by foreign powers, and shaken by internal faction. During a conjuncture so inviting, Edward chiefly employed himself in negotiations with his prisoner; and John signed terms of peace, in
which

which he agreed to restore all the provinces that had been possessed by Henry II. and his two sons ; and to annex them for ever to England, without any obligation of fealty or homage from the English. But this treaty was rejected by the dauphin, and the states of France ; and Edward, on the expiration of the truce, having encreased his treasures by his frugality, prepared for a new invasion of France.

Edward and the prince of Wales, by the splendid success of their former enterprizes, together with the certain prospect of plunder, soon assembled the whole military power of England ; and to the royal standard also resorted, all the bold adventurers of the different countries of Europe. Edward assembled at Calais an army of near 100,000 men ; which the forces of the dauphin being unable to withstand, he endeavoured to elude the blow, by putting all the considerable towns in a posture of defence, and causing them to be supplied with magazines and garrisons ; and having placed every thing of value in the fortified cities, he chose his own station at Paris, that the English might vent their fury on the open country.

Edward having learned that this was his plan of defence, was obliged to take with him six thousand waggons loaded with provisions. After ravaging the province of Picardy, he advanced into Champagne ; and desiring to be crowned king of France at Rheims, where that ceremony is usually performed, he laid siege to that city ; and carried on his at-
tacks

tacks for seven weeks without success, it being bravely defended by the inhabitants, encouraged by the exhortations of John de Craon the archbishop, till the advanced season obliged the king to raise the siege. Mean while the province of Champagne was laid desolate by his incursions; he thence conducted his army into Burgundy, took and pillaged Tonnerre, Gaillon, Avalon, and other small places; when the duke of Burgundy, in order to preserve this country from farther ravages, agreed to pay him 100,000 nobles. Edward then directed his march towards the Nivernois, which escaped by a like composition: he afterwards laid waste Brie, and the Gatinois; and after a long march, not only destructive to France, but of some prejudice to his own troops, he appeared before the gates of Paris; and fixing his quarters at Bourg la Reine, extended his army to Long-jumeau, Mont-Rouge, and Vaugirard.

Edward now challenged the dauphin to fight him, by sending him a defiance; but that prince was too prudent to change his plan of operations: for Paris was in no danger from an assault, on account of its numerous garrison; and was so well supplied with magazines, that it was in no fear from a blockade; besides, Edward being unable to subsist his army, in a country wasted both by domestic and foreign enemies, and also left empty by the dauphin's precaution, he was obliged to spread his troops into the provinces of Maine, Beausse, and the Chartraine, which were abandoned to the fury

of their devastations. The only repose which France experienced was during the festival of Easter, when the king put a stop to his ravages.

While the war was carried on in this destructive manner, the negociations for peace were never interrupted ; but as the king steadily insisted on the full execution of the treaty he had made with John at London, which was as obstinately rejected by the dauphin, there appeared little prospect of an accommodation : but by the persuasions of the earl, now duke of Lancaster, the king resolved to accept of more moderate terms of peace ; a change of resolution ascribed to a vow he had made during a dreadful tempest which attacked his army on their march, and which is represented by ancient historians as the cause of this sudden accommodation. After the conferences had been carried on during a few days between the English and French at Bretigni, in the Chartraine, the peace was concluded on the eighth of May, 1360, on the following conditions.

That king John should be restored to liberty, and pay as his ransom three millions of gold crowns, that is, about 1,500,000*l.* of our present money ; which was to be discharged at different payments : that Edward should renounce, for ever, all claim to the crown of France, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Touraine, and Anjou, possessed by his ancestors ; and should receive in exchange the provinces of Poitou, Xaintonge, l'Agenois, Perigort, the Limousin, Quercy,

Rovergue, l'Angoumois, and other districts in that quarter, together with Calais, Guisnes, Montreuil, and the county of Ponthieu, on the other side of France: that the full sovereignty of all these provinces, as well as that of Guienne, should be vested in the crown of England, and that France should renounce all title to feudal jurisdiction, homage, or appeal from them: that Edward should renounce his confederacy with the Flemings, John his connections with the Scots, and that forty hostages should be sent to England as a security for the execution of these conditions.

Agreeably to this treaty of peace, king John went over to Calais in July, and in October king Edward went thither to receive the first payment of the ransom, which amounted to 600,000 gold crowns; but France had been so grievously exhausted, that not above two-thirds of the sum could be raised, and hostages were given for payment of the remainder at Candlemas. The dauphin and his council repairing to Boulogne, conferences were held on the late treaty, and by the consent of all parties, some clauses of it were altered, and the whole was ratified by both kings at Calais on the 24th of October. The next day John set out for Boulogne, and Edward accompanied him about a mile from Calais, where they parted with demonstrations of the most perfect friendship, and mutual esteem; for the good disposition of John rendered him so sensible of the generous treatment he had received in England, as fully obliterated the memory of his rival's ascendant
over

over him. Though the conditions of the peace were severe and rigorous, John was possessed of such fidelity and honour, that he resolved to execute them at all hazards, and to use every method of satisfying a monarch, who, though he had been his greatest political enemy, had treated him with singular humanity and the utmost respect.

Edward having concluded this important negotiation, returned to England in November 1361, where the peace was celebrated with all sorts of rejoicings; and soon after, the articles of the treaty being laid before both houses of parliament, were unanimously approved. However, the satisfaction occasioned by this great event was soon damped by a dreadful plague, which broke out at this period, and swept away great numbers of people, among whom was the lords Seymour, Moubray, and other persons of high distinction; but none was so regreted by the public, as Henry duke of Lancaster, who was universally esteemed and beloved for his great and amiable qualities.

Notwithstanding John's earnest endeavours to execute this treaty, there occurred many difficulties, chiefly from the reluctance which many towns in the neighbourhood of Guienne expressed against submitting to the dominion of the English. To adjust these differences, John took the resolution in 1363 to come over himself to England. His council endeavoured to persuade him from this resolution, and probably would have been pleased to see him use every artifice to elude the execution of the

treaty; but John nobly replied, that though good faith was banished from the rest of the earth, she ought still to retain her habitation in the breasts of princes. He arrived in England during the Christmas holidays, where he met with a very cordial reception, and the king of Cyprus and Scotland being there at the same time, the court of Edward shone with uncommon magnificence. In order to detract from the merit of this honourable behaviour, some historians have represented John as making use of this pretence, in order to pay a visit to an English lady with whom he was in love; but there is no good authority for this supposition, which is the more improbable, as that prince was then in the 56th year of his age. He took up his residence in the Savoy, the place where he had resided during his captivity, and where he soon after fell sick, and died on the 8th of April, 1364. During his reign, the crown of France had acquired considerable accessions by obtaining the provinces of Dauphiny and Burgundy: but the latter province John dismembered from the crown, by bestowing it on his favourite son Philip, which afterwards proved the source of many calamities to France.

Charles the Dauphin succeeded John in the throne, and contrary to the practice of the great princes of that age, seems to have resolved never to appear at the head of his armies; and he is said to have been the first king in Europe, that shewed the superiority of judgment, foresight and policy to rash and pre-

precipitate courage. He began his reign with turning his arms against the king of Navarre, who was defeated by his general Bertrand du Guesclin, a gentleman of Brittany, and obliged his enemy to accept of moderate terms of peace : but the chief obstacle Charles met with in the settlement of the state, proceeded from enemies of an inferior kind, who were rendered eminent by their crimes, and dangerous from their numbers.

The numerous adventurers who had followed Edward's fortunes, having, after the conclusion of the treaty of Bretigni, dispersed into several provinces, and obtained the possession of strong fortresses, refused to lay down their arms. They associated themselves with bands of robbers, who were enured to violence and rapine ; and under the name of companions and companies, became the terror of the people. These ruffians were commanded by some English and Gascoign gentlemen, particularly Sir Hugh Calverly, Sir Matthew Gournay, the Chevalier Vert and others ; and their numbers amounting to near 40,000 men, carried the appearance of regular armies. Several pitched battles were fought by these leaders with the troops of France, in which they were victorious ; and in one of these, James de Bourbon, a prince of the blood, was slain. As Charles was unable to redress so enormous a grievance, he was led by policy to send them into foreign countries.

Peter the Cruel, king of Castile, had incurred the universal hatred of his subjects, by fil-

ling his kingdom and his own family with murders, his nobles daily fell victims to his suspicions; and from groundless jealousy, he put to death several of his natural brothers; and hence as his enemies encreased by his murders, they became the occasion of fresh barbarities. Instigated by his mistress, Mary de Padilla, he threw into prison, Blanche de Bourbon his wife, the queen of France's sister, and soon after dispatched her by poison, in order to marry his mistress.

His natural brother, Henry, count of Trans-tamare, observing the fate of all who incurred the displeasure of this cruel tyrant, sought for safety in France, where the murder of the French princess had enflamed the minds of the people; and easily obtained permission of Charles to enlist the companies in his service, against Peter the Cruel. The French king, pleased with the proposal, readily consented, and ordered du Guesclin to conclude a treaty with those banditti.

The last mentioned general had no sooner completed his levies, than he led the army to Avignon, the residence of the pope, and demanded, sword in hand, not only an absolution for his soldiers, but the sum of 200,000 livres. His Holiness readily promised the first, but making some difficulty with respect to the money, du Guesclin answered, "I believe
 " that my fellows may make a shift to do with-
 " out your absolution, but the money is ab-
 " solutely necessary." The pope then, having obliged the inhabitants of the city and neigh-
 bour-

bourhood to pay 100,000 livres, offered it to du Guesclin. He, however, refused to accept it. "I have no intention, said he, to oppress the innocent people. His Holiness and his cardinals alone can easily spare me that sum out of their own pockets. I therefore insist on this money being restored to the owners, and should they be defrauded of it, I will return from the other side the Pyrenees, and oblige you to make them restitution." The pope now finding himself obliged to submit, paid him the sum demanded out of his own treasury; and the army being enriched by the blessings and spoils of the church, continued their march, and soon drove the king of Castile from his dominions.

Peter having taken shelter in Guienne, now solicited the protection of the prince of Wales, who had been invested by his father with the sovereignty of the conquered provinces, under the title of the principality of Aquitaine. Had the young hero reflected on the unworthiness of the prince who desired his assistance, he would doubtless have refused his request: but only considering, on this occasion, the honour of restoring a dethroned monarch, and being, perhaps, weary of an unactive life, he promised the tyrant his assistance, and having obtained his father's consent, levied an army, and set out upon this expedition. The first blow which the Black Prince gave to Henry of Trans-tamare, now king of Castile, was his recalling the *companies* from his service; and such respect did they pay to the name of Edward,
that

that great numbers of them came over to him, and enlisted under his banners. But as Henry was beloved by his new subjects, and supported by the king of Arragon, he was able to meet him with a hundred thousand men, an army three times more numerous than those under Edward's command. Henry was advised by all his experienced officers to satisfy himself with cutting off the prince of Wales's provisions, and by all means, to avoid a decisive action with a general, whose enterprizes had always been crowned with success; but trusting to his numbers, he slighted this advice, and engaging in a battle with the prince, was entirely defeated, with the loss of twenty thousand men; while it is said there perished, on the side of the English, only four knights, and forty private men.

Soon after the battle Peter threw himself at the prince of Wales's feet, and thanked him for restoring him to his kingdom. On which he raised him up, and holding him in his arms, said, It was to God alone he was indebted for the victory, and not to him, who was only a weak instrument in his hand. Notwithstanding this appearance of gratitude, Peter so well merited the epithet he bore, that he proposed to murder all his prisoners in cold blood; but the remonstrances of the prince of Wales restrained him from committing this barbarity. Peter was now restored to the throne from whence he had been driven, and Edward finished this enterprize with his usual glory; but that prince had soon reason to repent his connections

nections with a man void of all sense of virtue and honour. The ungrateful tyrant, refusing to part with the money he had stipulated to pay to the English forces, want soon bred among the soldiers a mortality which swept away great numbers, and the fear of losing the rest, obliged the prince, who saw himself basely amused with false pretences, to retire extremely dissatisfied. He was even forced to sell his plate to provide for the pressing occasions of the army. But a more fatal mischief was caused by this expedition: during the prince's stay in Spain, he contracted a disease of which he never recovered.

The barbarities which Peter exercised over his helpless subjects whom he now treated as vanquished rebels, encreased the animosity of the Castilians against him. Henry of Trans-tamare returned with du Guesclin and some forces raised in France, and made so great a progress, that they were soon in a condition to besiege Toledo. Peter flying to the relief of that city, was defeated and forced to retire to the castle of Monteil, which was immediatly invested. Finding his case to be desperate, he resolved to visit du Guesclin in his tent, with the hopes of procuring tolerable conditions, or of prevailing on him to favour his escape. But unhappily for him he found Henry there, who, after some reproaches, threw him to the ground, and stabbed him with his dagger. Henry, having thus slain the tyrant, was again raised to the throne of Castile, and transmitted it to his posterity.

Edward

Edward III. has hitherto appeared one of the greatest and most successful princes that ever swayed the sceptre, but his latter years presented very different scenes from those we have seen. Fortune, after caressing him so much in his younger days, in his old age grew weary of favouring him. He was deprived of those who lay nearest his heart, and stripped of all his glorious conquests which he had purchased so dearly.

Edward's third son, Lionel, Duke of Clarence, being contracted to Violanta, the daughter of John Galeazzo, duke of Milan, went with a splendid retinue to consummate his marriage. For some time there was nothing but entertainments and diversions, that were daily renewed in favour of a prince, whose alliance was so honourable to the duke of Milan. These entertainments hastened his end, and five months after his marriage he died at Montferrat, in the 32d year of his age.

On the other hand, the prejudice which the affairs of prince Edward received from his imprudent expedition into Castile, ended not with it. The debts in which he had involved himself by that expedition, obliged him, on his return, to impose on his principality of Aquitaine a new tax, which was paid by some of the nobility with extreme reluctance, while others refused to submit to it. The inhabitants complained, that they were considered as a conquered people; that no regard was paid to their privileges, and that every office of honour and profit was conferred on the English. Hence they

they cast their eyes on their ancient sovereign, the French king ; and several of the nobility were encouraged to carry their complaints to Charles, as to their lord paramount, against the oppressions of the English government.

It had been agreed in the treaty of Bretigni, that Edward should renounce his claim to the crown of France, and to the provinces of Normandy, Anjou, and Maine ; and that John should give up the homage and fealty due for Guienne, and the other provinces ceded to the English. But on the confirmation and renewal of that treaty at Calais, it was found necessary, as Edward had not yet obtained the possession of all those territories, that the mutual renunciations should be for some time deferred ; and in the mean while it was agreed, that the parties should make no use of their respective claims against each other. Notwithstanding the failure in exchanging these renunciations had proceeded from France, Edward seems to have taken no umbrage at it, as this clause appeared to give him entire security, and as some reasonable apology had probably been made to him for each delay. But now Charles resolved to violate the severe terms imposed by this treaty of peace concluded with his father. The declining years of Edward, the languishing state of the prince of Wales's health, the regard which the inhabitants of those provinces entertained for their ancient master, their distance from England, and the ardent thirst of revenge felt by the French against these invaders, induced him privately to prepare

prepare for war, and to violate the express terms of the treaty, by summoning the prince of Wales to appear in his court at Paris, in order to justify his conduct towards his vassals. To this the prince answered, that he would come to Paris, but it should be at the head of 60,000 men.

It is probable, that prince Edward still thought that Charles, who did not appear to have a genius for war, was far from being in earnest. The French, however, first attacked Ponthieu which lay conveniently for giving the English an entrance into the heart of France, and Abbeville opened its gates to them. This example was imitated by St. Valori, Rue, and Crotoy; and in a little time, the whole country was reduced to submission. The dukes of Berri and Anjou, Charles's brothers, assisted by du Guesclin, invaded the southern provinces, and daily made a considerable progress against the English. The prince of Wales's sickness, which would not permit his mounting on horseback, prevented his exerting his usual activity: in one action Chandos, the constable of Guienne, was slain: in another the Captal de Buche, who succeeded him in that office, was taken prisoner; and prince Edward himself, being constrained, by his encreasing infirmities, to return to his native country, the affairs of the English, in the south of France, were totally ruined.

King Edward was so exasperated, that he threatened to put to death all the French hostages that remained in his hands; but on mature

ture deliberation, abstained from that ungenerous revenge. By advice of parliament, he resumed the vain title of king of France, and endeavoured to send succours into Gascony; but all his attempts proved unsuccessful. The earl of Pembroke was intercepted at sea, and both he and his whole army fell into the hands of the king of Castile, who had fitted out a fleet for that purpose, and attacked him near Rochelle. Edward himself with another army had embarked for Bourdeaux; but contrary winds obliged him to lay aside his enterprise. Thirty thousand men, with Sir Robert Knolles at their head, however, marched out of Calais, and continued their ravages to the gates of Paris, but were unable to provoke the enemy to come to an engagement; they therefore proceeded in their march, laying waste the provinces of Maine and Anjou; but part of the army being defeated by the conduct of du Guesclin, who was now made constable of France, the rest were scattered and dispersed, and the few who returned, instead of reaching Guienne, took shelter in Brittany, whose duke had entered in an alliance with England. Some time after the duke of Lancaster, at the head of an army of 25,000 men, marched from Calais to Bourdeaux, the whole length of France, but was so harrassed by flying parties, that he brought not half of his army to the place of their destination. In short, Edward had the mortification to see almost all his ancient possessions in France ravished from him, except Bourdeaux and Bayonne, and all his

conquests except Calais, and was at last obliged to conclude a truce with France.

Edward, besides the loss of his foreign dominions, felt the decay of his authority in England, and from the severity of some parliamentary remonstrances, experienced the influence his present ill fortune had on the affections of his people.

During this last war he lost his queen, which greatly encreased his afflictions. He had lived with her forty years in perfect union, and had by her twelve children. She was also extremely lamented by the people, who had always found her ready to relieve them in their necessities, and the poor were great losers by her death.

Edward, who, during the vigour of life, had been chiefly employed in the pursuits of war and ambition, in his old age, fell in love with Alice Pierce, who had been one of the ladies of the bed-chamber to Philippa, his late queen, and his passion had such an ascendant over him, as to render him guilty of weaknesses unbecoming so great a prince. Wholly employed in pleasing her, he only thought of procuring her diversions, and entertainments which were daily made at an immense expence. But this gave such general disgust, that in order to satisfy the parliament, he was obliged to remove her from Court.

The indolence naturally attending old age, had induced him to resign, in a great measure, the administration of affairs into the hands of his son the duke of Lancaster, who was far from

from being popular, and which greatly weakened the people's regard to his person and engagement. Jealous of the duke, they, with great regret, saw the approaching death of the prince of Wales, and dreaded lest the succession of his son Richard should be defeated by Lancaster's intrigues, and the old king's weak indulgence. But to satisfy the people, Edward declared in parliament his grandson heir and successor to the crown.

On the 8th of June, 1376, the prince of Wales died, after a lingering illness, in the 46th year of his age. He was justly the subject of admiration. His amazing valour and military talents formed the smallest part of his merit. Generous, humane, affable, and pleased with rewarding merit wherever he found it, he gained universal esteem, and was qualified to throw a lustre not only on that rude age, but on the most shining period of ancient and modern history. His affability in conversation, and his modesty, could never be sufficiently admired; and he was equally distinguished by the submission and profound respect he paid to the king his father, whom he never once disobliged. He was commonly called by the English, the Black Prince, from his usually wearing black armour. The news of his death, though it was long expected, was received with inconceivable grief; and the parliament expressed their just sorrow for the loss of so great a prince, by attending his corpse to Canterbury, where he was interred.

After the prince's death, the king recalled those whom he had a little before removed from his person. He however survived his son only about a year, and before he left the world, had the mortification to see himself deserted by all. Alice, his favourite, who took care of him in his sickness, suffered few to come into his room. When he was dying, she seized every thing of value she could find, even the rings on his fingers, and then withdrew. No less ingratitude was shewn by his courtiers and chaplains, who all deserted him, except one single priest, who seeing him forsaken in his last agonies, approached the bed, in order to comfort him, and addressed to him some exhortations, to which the dying king endeavoured to reply but his words were too inarticulate to be understood. Thus died this illustrious prince on the 21st of June, 1377, in the 65th year of his age and the 51st of his reign.

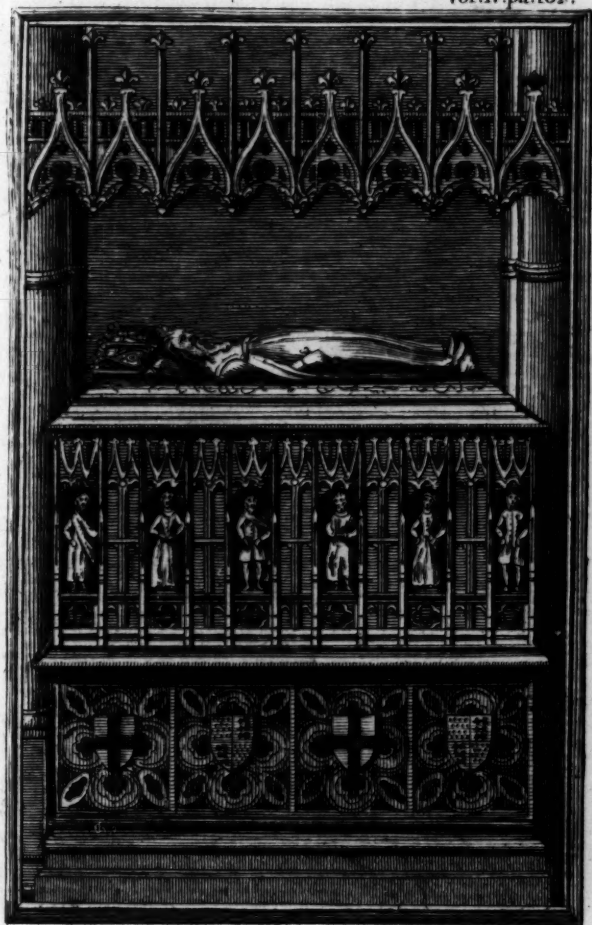
Edward had twelve children by Philippa of Hainault, his queen. Edward, his eldest son, who married his cousin Joan, commonly called the Fair Maid of Kent, the daughter and heiress of his uncle, the earl of Kent, and by her the prince had only Richard, who succeeded in the throne. His second son William died an infant. Lionel, duke of Clarence, who expired in Italy. John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, so called from the place of his birth, from whom sprung that branch which afterwards possessed the crown. Edward's fifth son was Edmund, surnamed of Lancaster, from the place of his birth, who was created earl of Cam-

Cambridge by the king his father, and duke of York by king Richard II. William, surnamed of Windsor, died young. Thomas of Woodstock, the seventh son, was created duke of Buckingham by Richard II. and afterwards duke of Gloucester. Besides these sons he had five daughters.

The reign of Edward III. was one of the longest and most glorious that occurs in the history of England. This prince was tall, well shaped, and had so noble and majestic a countenance, that his very looks commanded respect. The ravages and victories he obtained in France, raised the admiration of Europe, and gratified the pride of the English, by exalting the glory of the nation. He was no less distinguished by his domestic government, and the prudence and vigour of his administration, which procured England a longer interval of domestic peace and tranquility, than this nation had enjoyed in any former period. His affability and obliging behaviour to the good, and his rigour and severity to the bad, gained him the affections of the people, at the same time that it curbed their licentiousness. Indeed there are few princes to be found in history, in whom was so well mixed the duties of a sovereign with those of an honest man. Never did king bestow honours and rewards with more judgment and greater regard to true merit. His valour and conduct rendered him successful in most of his enterprizes; yet this success was far from filling him with pride;

for never did he shew greater signs of humility than in the course of his victories, which he constantly ascribed to the protection of heaven. Possessed of the greatest affability, his conversation was easy, and always accompanied with gravity and discretion. He was the friend of the poor, the fatherless, the widow, and of the unfortunate. Yet in the beginning of his reign, he made some encroachments on the liberties of the people, but soon learned to maintain, in general, the prerogatives of the crown, without invading the privileges of his subjects. In few former reigns were so many advantageous statutes enacted, and the harmony which subsisted between him and his parliament was greatly instrumental in curbing the designs of the court of Rome. Though the old tribute to that see was paid during some years of his minority, Edward had too much sense and spirit to continue it, and when the pope, in 1367, threatened to cite him to appear before him, for default of payment, he laid the affair before his parliament: on which that assembly unanimously declared, that king John could not, without the consent of the nation, render this kingdom subject to a foreign power, and that they were determined to support their sovereign against this unjust pretension. During this reign was enacted the statute of provisors, which rendered it penal to procure any presentations to benefices from the court of Rome, and secured the rights of all patrons and electors, which had been extremely encroached on by the pope. By a subsequent

statute,



*The Monument of Edw.^d III. in
Westminster Abby.*

statute, all persons were out-lawed who carried any cause by appeal to the court of Rome.

Edward's glory received a new lustre from that of his son the prince of Wales, and his happiness was encreased by his constant union with his queen. His ambition was, however, extreme. This caused him to break, in a dishonourable manner, a peace with Scotland, in order to dispossess his brother-in-law, a minor king, and this excited him to raise chimerical pretensions to the crown of France, and to make those ravages and devastations in that country, which can neither be reconciled to the laws of justice nor humanity.

MISCELLANEOUS INCIDENTS.

Till this reign a pound sterling consisted of a pound troy, or twelve ounces of silver, equivalent to three pounds of our present money; but Edward, in the twentieth year of his reign, coined twenty-two shillings out of a pound troy, and in his twenty-seventh year, he coined twenty-five shillings.

The only exports during this reign were wool, hydes, skins, leather, butter, lead, tin, and such unmanufactured goods, of which wool was the most considerable. To introduce and promote the woollen manufacture, Edward gave protection to foreign weavers; and a law was enacted, prohibiting the wear of any cloth not made in England. Yet so little was the nature of trade understood by the parliament, that the exportation of woollen goods was prohibited, while the exportation of unwrought wool

wool was not only allowed but encouraged. The exportation of manufactured iron was also prohibited by parliament.

In this reign was abolished the use of the French language in pleadings and public deeds; for the king and nobility seem to have kept in remembrance their Norman extraction, till the wars of Edward and France, inspired the English with an antipathy to that nation.

In this age the parliament attempted to restrain luxury, and it was enacted that no one should be allowed either for dinner or supper above three dishes in each course, and not above two courses. Servants were prohibited from eating flesh meat or fish above once a day: and no man under a hundred a year was permitted to wear gold, silver, or silk in his clothes.

In this reign was imposed the first toll we read of in England for mending the highways; and this was for repairing the road from St. Giles's to Temple-Bar.

It ought not to be omitted, that in this reign was introduced pieces of artillery; and the use of gun-powder in war, which has, by degrees, changed the whole art of war, and many circumstances in the political government of Europe. The ignorance of that age, in the mechanical arts, however, rendered the progress of new inventions very slow. The artillery first made were so clumsy, and managed with such difficulty, that people were not immediately sensible of its use; and since that time, improvements have been continually making

making on these dreadful engines of destruction; which, though they appear to be contrived for the overthrow of empires, and the extirpation of the human race, have, in fact, rendered battles less bloody, and given to civil societies a greater degree of stability. By the use of gun-powder, nations have been brought more to a level; conquests have been rendered less frequent and rapid; and personal strength in the warriors less necessary.

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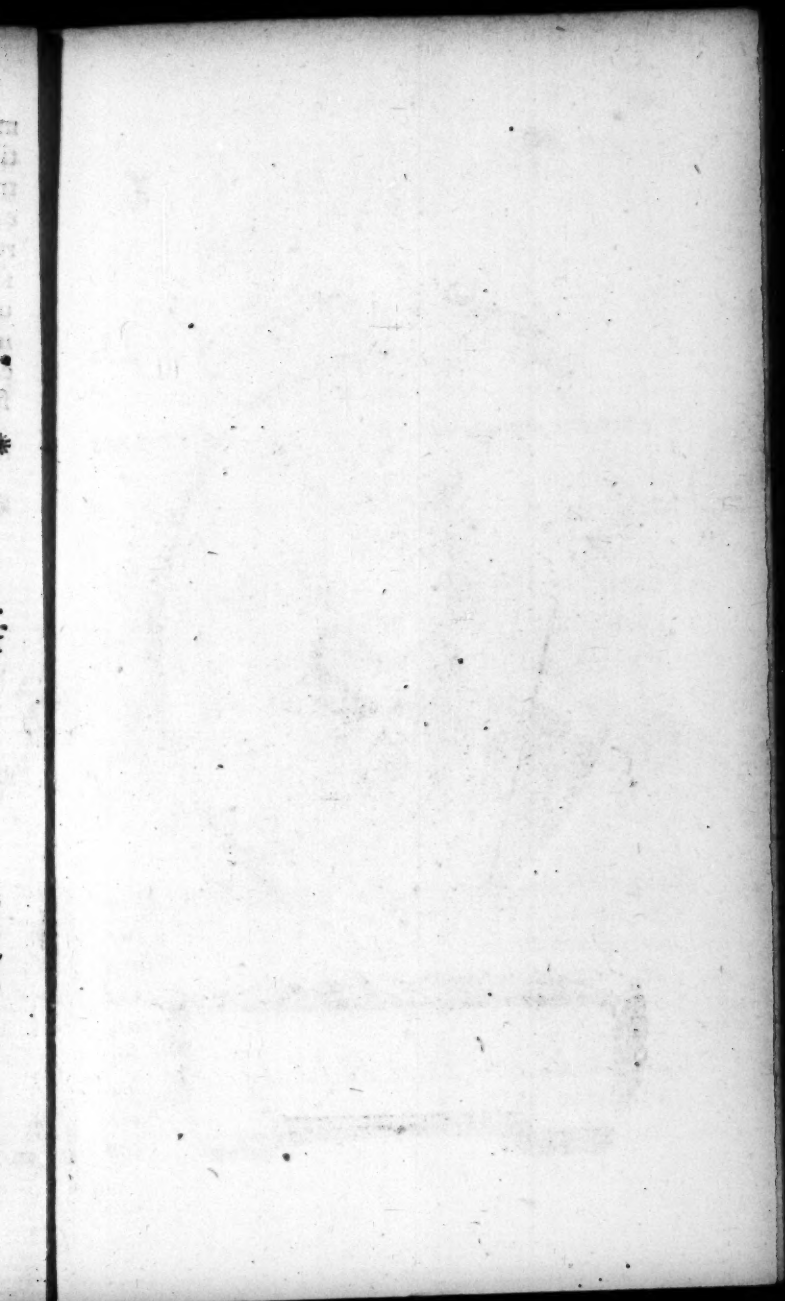
BOOK IV.

From the Death of King Edward III.
to the Union of the Houses of
York and Lancaster.

CHAP. I.

RICHARD II.

*He ascends the Throne. The Progress of the War
in France. The Insurrection under Wat Tyler
and Jack Straw. Edward ravages Scotland
on the East, while the Scots ravage England
on the West. The Discontent of the Barons,
who expel the King's Ministers, and limit his
Authority. The King resumes his Power; his
Fondness for Pageantry and Pomp; he seizes
the*



Vol. IV. pa. 167.



RICHARD II.

J. Collyer sc.

the Charter of London, and is revenged on those who had held him in Subjection. The Banishment of the Dukes of Norfolk and Hereford; the latter returns, and produces a general Insurrection, in which the King is taken Prisoner, deposed, and afterwards murdered. His Character. Miscellaneous Incidents.

AFTER the death of Edward III. his grandson Richard ascended the throne without opposition: the extraordinary change from a prince of consummate wisdom and great age and experience, to a boy of eleven years of age, was not immediately felt by the people. Though Edward had fixed the succession to the throne, he had neglected to establish a plan of government during his grandson's minority; but this defect was supplied by the parliament.

Richard was crowned on the 16th of July, 1377, twenty-four days after the death of Edward. At this coronation we meet with the first mention in history, of a champion who appeared completely armed in Westminster-hall, where the king dined; and throwing his gauntlet on the ground, challenged all persons who should dispute the king's title to the crown. The original of this custom is, however, certainly of an older date than the coronation of this prince, since the office of champion was then performed by Sir John Dimock, who was admitted to that office, by virtue of a right annexed to a manor he possessed in Lincolnshire.

After

After the coronation, as no regency was expressly appointed, the administration was entirely conducted in the king's name; and as the council and the great officers, who were nominated by the house of lords, did their duty, the government was for some years carried on with great tranquility; this was chiefly occasioned by the secret authority of the king's uncles, and more particularly of the duke of Lancaster, who was really the regent.

The young king on ascending the throne was involved in a war with France; and Charles, who had obtained the surname of Wise, might have proved a dangerous enemy to so young a king; but the less was to be feared from him, as he was not naturally of an enterprizing genius. England was not only still master of Calais, Bourdeaux, and Bayonne, but had lately, by the cession of the king of Navarre, obtained the possession of Cherbury, and of Brest by that of the duke of Brittany. The English having thus an easy entrance into France, were able to give great disturbance to that kingdom; and before Charles could drive the English from those important posts, he was carried off in the flower of his age, and was succeeded by his son Charles VI. a minor.

The war with France was carried on by the English, though with no great vigour. Sir Hugh Calverley, governor of Calais, made an inroad into Piccardy, with a detachment of the garrison, and set Boulogne on fire. The duke of Lancaster marched with an army into Brittany, but returned without performing any thing



JOHN of GAUNT.

thing worthy of notice. But in 1380, the duke of Gloucester marched from Calais at the head of two thousand horse and eight thousand foot; and with this small army boldly entered the heart of France, and spread his ravages through Picardy, Champagne, the Brie, the Beauffe, the Gatinois, the Orleanois, till he reached his allies in Brittany; and though the duke of Burgundy came within sight of him with a more considerable army, no superiority of numbers could tempt the French, who were intimidated by the former successes of the English, to venture a pitched battle. But the duke of Brittany agreeing to an accommodation with the court of France, soon after his receiving these succours, this enterprize was attended with no permanent advantage.

The treasury of England being much exhausted by the expences of these armaments, and that want of œconomy which usually attends a minority, a new and extraordinary tax was imposed by parliament, of three groats on every person, male or female, who was above fifteen years of age; and it was ordered, that in raising that tax, the wealthy should assist the poor, according to the value of their estates. But this imposition excited a mutiny of the most dangerous kind, in which the meanest of the populace rose against their governors, and were guilty of the most cruel outrages.

The minds of the people had been prepared for rebellion by John Ball, a seditious priest, who going about the country, preached every

where to the people on the equal right of mankind to liberty, and the blessings of life, the tyranny of artificial distinctions, and the abuses arising from the greatest part of mankind being degraded, in order to aggrandize their insolent rulers. These doctrines were greedily received by the populace, and were the sparks of a sedition which the new tax raised into a flame.

The imposition had been farmed out to tax-gatherers in each county, who levied the money with the utmost rigour and severity; and little attention was probably paid to the clause, that the rich should ease their poor neighbours of a part of the burthen. While things were in this situation, one of the tax-gatherers appointed by these farmers entered into a dispute with a tyler of Deptford, named Walter, who refusing to pay for his daughter, on account of her being not yet of the age assigned by the statute, the fellow laid hold of the maid, and offered to produce a very indecent proof of the contrary; at which the father being enraged, instantly knocked out the ruffian's brains with his hammer. This action was applauded by the by-standers, who exclaimed, that it was high time for the people to be revenged on their tyrants, and to vindicate their native liberty. They instantly flew to arms: all the neighbourhood joined in the sedition: the flame immediately spread over the county, and soon extended into Kent, Surry, Suffex, Suffolk, Hertford, Cambridge, Norfolk, and Lincoln.

Before the government had the least notice of

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the danger, the insurrection had encreased beyond controul, and the populace had thrown off all regard to their governors. Not only the discontented peasants, but all the debauched profligates and desperate villains in these counties, joined in the insurrection; and being headed by the most audacious of their associates, who assumed the name of Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, Hab Carter and Tom Millar, from the fondness of shewing their mean origin, they every where committed the most outrageous violence on such of the nobility and gentry as had the misfortune to fall into their hands; pulling down their houses, putting to death all the justices and practitioners of the law, and burning all court-rolls and records.

At length Wat Tyler, at the head of the Kentish populace, joined those of Essex, commanded by Jack Straw, and on the 12th of June, 1381, advanced to Black Heath, to the number of a hundred thousand, with banners displayed; and the king's mother, the princess dowager of Wales, returning from a pilgrimage to Canterbury, and passing through the midst of them, they not only insulted her attendants, but some of the most audacious of them kissed her, in order to shew their purpose of levelling all mankind; but without attempting any farther injury, they allowed her to continue her journey.

The king sending messengers to them to know the reason of this insurrection, they informed them, that they were come to speak to his majesty about certain important affairs,

and desired that he would come and hear what they had to propose. Richard was advised to comply with their request; and as he had taken shelter in the Tower, he entered a barge, and sailed down the river for that purpose: but on his approaching the shore, such symptoms of tumult and insolence were observed, that Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, the chancellor, and Sir Robert Hales, grand prior of the knights hospitallers, treasurer of England, hurried him back with all expedition to the Tower. The rebels thus disappointed, called aloud, Treason! Treason! Then proceeding to the bridge, entered the city, plundered several houses, and murdered some Flemish merchants. The next day they were joined by the populace of the city; and going to the palace of the Savoy, which belonged to the duke of Lancaster, they destroyed all the rich furniture, with vast quantities of plate and jewels, and burnt that structure to the ground. They then turned back to the temple, where they burned all the records, books, and papers, demolished the buildings; and afterwards repaired to the priory of St. John at Clerkenwell, where they performed the same exploits: then divided into three bodies, one of which went to Heybury, where they plundered and reduced to ashes a magnificent structure, which belonged to the knights of St. John; a second party, which chiefly consisted of the people of Essex and Hertfordshire, proceeded to Mile-end Green; and a third post-
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ed themselves on Tower-hill and in St. Catharine's.

Those who had taken up their quarters at Mile-end, now sent a message to the king, desiring him to come to them immediately, otherwise they would pull down the Tower, and put him to death. At the same time their companions on Tower-hill intercepted the provisions intended for his majesty's use, and loudly demanded the heads of the chancellor and treasurer. Though the archers and men at arms in the Tower were able to defend it against such an undisciplined and ill-armed mob, they were so intimidated, that they could not even manage their arms; and Richard being afraid of exasperating the rebels by refusing to grant their request, rode out with a few attendants, to expostulate with those at Mile-end. He there accosted them with great affability; told them, that he was their king, and desired to know their grievances, that they might be immediately redressed. They required the exemption of all persons throughout the realm, from bondage and servitude; freedom of commerce in market towns, without toll or impost; and a fixed rent on lands, instead of the services due by villainage; and general pardon for all offences. These requests which, though in themselves extremely reasonable, the nation was not yet sufficiently prepared to receive, were however complied with; and charters for that purpose being immediately drawn up, and sealed the next morning, were delivered to them; on which the

peasants of Essex and Hertfordshire immediately dispersed, and returned to their several homes.

In the mean while the body of the rebels posted on Tower-hill, had entered that fortress; beheaded the primate and treasurer, massacred fifteen other persons in cool blood, and treated the king's mother with the utmost indignities; while the knights and men at arms stood inactive, without daring to oppose them.

The wealthy part of the citizens of London beginning at length to recover from their consternation, Walworth, the mayor, persuaded them to take arms in defence of their sovereign. In the mean while, the king sent to offer Wat Tyler and his people the same charters that had satisfied the men of Essex; but that leader, intoxicated with his power and success, made no other answer, but that he would consent to a peace if he liked the terms; and different conditions were three times sent to him and rejected, in the compass of a few hours. At length Richard riding towards Smithfield, invited him to a conference, in order to know and remove his objections; on which Tyler began to move with his followers towards that place; but so slowly, that Sir John Newton, who had delivered the message, let him know, that the king was waiting for him, and that he ought to mend his pace. Affronted at this freedom, he replied, he might make what haste he would; but for his own part, he would move as he thought proper. On his approaching Richard, he did not offer to alight,
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*Richard II. appeasing the
Insurgents in Smithfield.*

S. Wale del.

J. Collyer sc.

and Sir John Newton blaming the indecency of his behaviour, he drew his dagger to stab him for his presumption. Newton then drawing his, the king interposed, and ordered him to deliver up his dagger to Tyler, who, notwithstanding his insolence and brutality, seemed disconcerted by the presence of his prince: Tyler's demands were so extravagant, and uttered in so unconnected a manner, that Richard, not being able perfectly to understand his meaning, would not assent to them. Indeed the intention of both was to amuse each other; for the king knew that Sir Robert Knolles was marching to his assistance, at the head of a thousand veterans, and Tyler expected a reinforcement the next day from Hertfordshire. Nevertheless the insolent plebeian could not brook a refusal, and lifted up his dagger, as if he intended to plunge it in his sovereign's bosom, which so raised the indignation of Walworth, who attended the king, that, without considering to what danger he exposed his master, he discharged such a blow on the rebel's head with his sword, as laid him dead at his feet.

The rebels seeing their leader on the ground, encouraged each other to revenge his death, and bent their bows to shoot at the king and his retinue. But Richard prevented the danger, by a conduct which shewed greater boldness and prudence than could be expected from a young prince not quite sixteen years of age. Instead of flying, he, with admirable presence of mind, advanced towards the rebels, crying,

in a resolute voice, "What my lieges! Will you kill your king? Give yourselves no concern about the loss of your leader, I myself will be your general, follow me, and I will grant your demands." The rebels, overawed by his presence, implicitly followed him; and to prevent any disorder that might have arisen from their entering the city, he led them into the fields, where he was joined by Sir Robert Knolles with his band of veterans, and some thousands of Londoners, who, immediately after the death of Tyler had taken arms, and put themselves under the command of Walworth. The sight of these troops completed the dejection of the rebels. Sir Robert was desirous of attacking them; but as many persons had been compelled to join them, the king was unwilling to punish the innocent with the guilty; and having strictly prohibited that officer from committing an undistinguished slaughter, peaceably dismissed them with the same charters that had been granted to their companions.

Another mob was in full march from Hertfordshire, in order to join Tyler, when they received the news of his death, and the dispersion of his followers. They, however, still kept together; but instead of proceeding, returned, and extorted letters of manumission from the monastery of St. Albans, and the lords to whom they owed vassalage; some of whom they murdered; they likewise compelled the abbot and convent to deliver up their charters, which they committed to the flames
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in the market-place. For these outrages, they now pleaded the royal authority, till a proclamation was published by the king, commanding all the sheriffs, mayors, and other officers of the peace, to suppress these commotions.

The same insurrections still appeared in other parts of the kingdom. The peasants of Suffolk took arms, and struck off the head of Sir John Cavendish, lord chief justice of England, and also murdered two monks belonging to the convent of St. Edmonsbury, which they likewise robbed of its charters.

In the mean time the rebels of Norfolk rose under the conduct of John Littester, or the Dyer, who affected great state, and compelled all the freeholders of the county to appear to countenance his proceedings. Sir Robert Sale presuming to censure his conduct, he ordered his followers to beat out his brains, and afterwards obliged Sir William Morley and Sir John Brewes, to set out for the court, in order to introduce three of his followers, who had instructions to solicit an ample charter of liberties, and to present the king with a considerable sum of money, which had been extorted from the city of Norwich. These deputies were met in their journey to London by Henry Spenser, the warlike bishop of Norwich, who, without ceremony, ordered them to be beheaded; and being afterwards joined by some gentlemen of the county and their followers, he advanced against the rebels who lay at North Walsham, and was the first man who entered their entrenchments sword in hand.

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The rebels fought for some time with great fury ; but were at length routed by that martial prelate, and a great number was slain in the pursuit. Litterer and his principal accomplices were taken, and soon after hanged and quartered, by which means the quiet of that county was restored.

The bishop of Norwich then marched into the counties of Huntingdon and Cambridge, where having reduced all the mutinous peasants, he entered Suffolk and dispersed the rebels of that county, who had murdered a great number of persons concerned in the law, and committed terrible outrages.

Notwithstanding the ill success of the other rebels, those of Essex now sent deputies to the king to procure a confirmation of their charter. But the king's situation was now changed : for the nobility and gentry, on hearing of his danger, in which they were all concerned, had flocked to London with their adherents and retainers, and Richard had taken the field at the head of forty thousand men. He therefore published a proclamation, requiring all tenants to perform their accustomed services, and then marched in person against the rebels of Essex, who being defeated in two battles, submitted, and sued for mercy. The charters of enfranchisement and pardon were then revoked ; the peasants were reduced to the same low condition as before, and several of the ring-leaders suffered death for their late disorders. It was pretended, that these rebels intended to seize the king's person ; to carry him
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at their head through England ; to murder all the nobility, gentry, and lawyers, and even all the bishops and priests, except the mendicant friars ; afterwards to dispatch the king himself ; and all being thus reduced to a level, they were to govern the kingdom at their pleasure.

So mad and chimerical a project might possibly have entered the brains of some of the giddy and ignorant of the people in the delirium of their success ; but there is not the least probability, that so wild a scheme was ever regularly formed, and agreed to by the people and their leaders. This, indeed, was less a rebellion against the king, than against the nobles, by whom they were held in bondage, by the hard conditions and services annexed to their feudal tenures. By these they were rendered slaves : and had these insurrections been conducted with prudence and humanity, these men would have deserved to be treated with the respect due to those who have struggled, though without success, for the recovery of their native freedom : but popular insurrections, where they have no persons of rank and distinction at their head, who have influence to govern them, and to awake their attention to the voice of prudence and humanity, degenerate into the most licentious mobs. The most daringly vicious and abandoned get the lead, cruelty and rapine become sport, all the laws of justice and humanity are wantonly trampled under foot, and with whatever laudible views they may have been at first actuated,

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every valuable purpose is sure to be defeated, and to end in their own destruction.

It is said, that besides those of the insurgents who fell with their arms in their hands, above fifteen hundred died by the hands of the hangman. Judge Trefilian was commissioned to go into the several counties and try the guilty; and the number being very great, he had an opportunity to gratify his cruel and inhuman temper, by punishing the unfortunate wretches, to whom he shewed no favour.

The same year a match was concluded between Richard and Anne, sister of the emperor Wincelaus, who arrived in England a few days before Christmas, and the nuptials were solemnized after the holidays. She was crowned at Westminster with great pomp, and tournaments were held upon that occasion.

The presence of mind and courage with which the king at so early an age had shewn on the death of Tyler, raised great expectations, that his abilities and success would equal those of his father and grandfather: but these pleasing hopes soon vanished, as every enterprise which he attempted shewed his want of capacity.

The Scots having become sensible of the disadvantage they lay under from their want of cavalry, had applied to the regency of Charles VI. on which they sent over John de Vienne, admiral of France, with a body of 1500 men at arms, to support them in their incursions against the English. This induced the king's
uncles,

uncles, in 1385, to raise an army of 60,000 men, with which Richard marched into Scotland. The Scots as usual abandoned their country to be plundered; and when the French commander expressed his surprize at this conduct, they let him know, that their cattle being driven into places of security, their houses and goods were of little value; and they could easily repair the losses they sustained in this respect, by an incursion into England. Thus, while Richard entered Scotland on the east by Berwick, 30,000 of the Scots, attended by the French, entered England by the west, and having extended their devastations through Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, returned in tranquility with a rich booty. Mean while Richard advancing towards Edinburgh, in his way destroyed all the towns and villages for some distance on each side of him: he reduced to ashes that city, and also Perth, Dundee, and other places. He was then advised to march towards the west coast, to intercept the enemy on their return, in order to be revenged on them for the ravages they had committed in England; but his impatience to enjoy his favourite pleasures and amusements, out-weighing every other consideration, he led back his army, without performing any thing else worthy of notice. Soon after the Scots finding that, in the kind of war to which they confined themselves, a heavy body of French cavalry was of little use, they treated their allies so ill, that they returned home,

greatly disgusted with the country and its inhabitants.

The next year England was kept in perpetual alarm by the French, who were now in alliance with the Flemings, and had assembled at Sluys a great fleet and army to invade England; an enterprize in which all the nobility of France were engaged. Great preparations were made to oppose them; but their fleet was happily dispersed by a storm, and many of the ships being taken by the English before the troops were embarked, this freed the nation from the present danger. The French were induced by two circumstances to engage in such an attempt: the absence of the duke of Lancaster, who having some years before married the daughter of Peter the Cruel, had carried into Spain the flower of the English military force, to prosecute his claim to the crown of Castile; and some violent dissensions which had in the mean time arisen in the English government.

Richard was held by his uncles, particularly by the duke of Gloucester, who was a prince of genius and ambition, in a subjection which, though not unsuitable either to his years or slender capacity, was extremely disagreeable to him; and he, therefore, soon attempted to shake it off. Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, a young nobleman of an agreeable figure, having acquired an ascendant over him, governed him with an absolute authority; and Richard, setting no bounds to his affection, created him marquis of Dublin, a title which was before

unknown in England; he then made him duke of Ireland; and transferred to him for life, the entire sovereignty of that island. The king also gave him in marriage his cousin german, the earl of Bedford's daughter; and though that lady was of an unexceptionable character, he soon after permitted him to divorce her, in order to marry a young Bohemian lady, who waited on his queen, with whom that nobleman had become enamoured. The whole attention of the court was now turned to this favourite: all favours passed through his hands, and by his mediation alone, access to the king could only be obtained. His other favourites were Alexander Nevil, archbishop of York, Michael de la Pole, a merchant's son, and judge Tresilian, who never wanted reasons to justify whatever was agreeable to the king.

Immediately the jealousy of power produced great animosities between the princes of the blood and the chief nobility on the one hand, and between the principal favourite and his creatures on the other. Moubray, earl of Nottingham, the marshal; Piercy, earl of Northumberland; Fitz-Alan, earl of Arundel; Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, and Montacute, earl of Salisbury, were closely united with each other and the princes, both by friendship, and by their antipathy to the minion; and being no longer kept in awe by the prince's personal character, they scorned to submit to his ministry; and ran to the greatest extremities in their opposition.

They first proceeded against Michael de la Pole, the present chancellor, who had been lately created earl of Suffolk, and was thought to have the greatest experience and capacity of all those who were attached to the duke of Ireland and the king's secret council, they therefore on several pretences caused him to be deprived of his office; to which the king at last consented, on condition, that no other attack should be made on him, or any other of his ministers.

This stipulation was observed by the duke of Gloucester and his associates; but though they attacked no other of the ministry, they fell upon the king himself, and formed a commission, which they procured to be ratified by parliament, in which was appointed a council of fourteen persons, all of whom, except Nevil, archbishop of York, was of Gloucester's party. To this council the sovereign power was transferred for twelve months, and the king, though he had reached the twenty first year of his age, was in a manner dethroned. Richard was, however, obliged to submit, and to swear never to infringe a commission which had been extorted from him by violence.

Richard, whose power was thus limited, soon became sensible of the contempt into which he had fallen; and his favourites, who were yet allowed to remain about his person, did not fail to aggravate the injury which had been offered him; he therefore resolved to seek the means, both of recovering his authority, and of being revenged on those who had invaded

vaded it. The house of Commons being now of some weight in the constitution, he secretly tried to procure a favourable election, and founded some of the sheriffs, who being then both the returning officers, and magistrates of great power in the counties, had a considerable influence in elections. But as they had most of them been appointed by his uncles, they were averse to his designs. On this ill success, he applied to the judges, and proposed to them some queries, which they made no scruple of answering as he desired; and declared, that the late commission was derogatory to the royalty and prerogatives of the king; that those by whom it was procured, or who advised the king to consent to it, were liable to capital punishment; that those by whom he was compelled, were guilty of treason; that the king has the right of dissolving parliaments whenever he pleases; that while the parliament sits, it must first proceed upon the king's business, and that without his consent, that assembly cannot impeach any of his ministers and judges. All these determinations, except the two last, appear to be justifiable according to our present maxims, with respect to the royal prerogatives. This answer they signed before the archbishops of York and Dublin, the bishops of Durham, Chichester and Bangor, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, and two other of the council.

This secret consultation soon reaching the ears of the duke of Gloucester and his adherents, they were greatly alarmed, and instantly

resolved to prevent the execution of the king's intentions. They knew that London was well disposed to their party, and the king no sooner came thither, than they secretly assembled their forces, and appeared in arms near Highgate, with a power which Richard and his ministers were unable to resist. They first sent the archbishop of Canterbury, with the lords Devereux, Cobham, and Lovet, to demand, that the traitors who had seduced him, by their pernicious council, should be delivered up to them. A few days after, they appeared before him with their retinue in arms, and accused, by name, the archbishop of York, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, and Sir Nicholas Brembre, as public enemies to the state; and throwing down their gauntlets, offered to maintain the truth of their charge by duel. However, all the persons accused had withdrawn or were concealed. The duke of Ireland, who had escaped into Cheshire, raised some forces, with which he advanced, in order to rescue the king from the nobles; but Gloucester attacking him in Oxfordshire with a superior army, he was routed, his followers dispersed, and he himself obliged to fly into the Netherlands, where, a few years after, he died in exile. The next year the lords marched to London with an army of 40,000 men; obliged the king to summon a parliament, which was entirely at their devotion, and entered an accusation or appeal, as it was called, against the five counsellors whom they had already accused before the king. This charge consisted of
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thirty-nine articles, and none of the accused, except Sir Nicholas Brembre, being in custody, the rest were cited to answer; and upon their not appearing, the house of peers, without hearing a single witness or examining one fact, declared them guilty of high treason. Even Sir Nicholas Brembre, who was brought into court, had only the appearance of a trial; and though the peers were not, by the constitution of England, his proper judges, they, in a summary manner, pronounced sentence of death upon him, and he was executed with Sir Robert Tresilian, who, in the interval, had been discovered and taken. Thus, merely from a rivalry in power, were these persons persecuted with the utmost rage of unremitting cruelty, by the duke of Gloucester and his faction, against a ministry, who do not appear to have been guilty of any particular illegal act, or instance of ministerial tyranny, without the least regard either to reason, justice, or humanity. All the other judges were condemned for signing the extrajudicial opinions at Nottingham; and as a particular favour, were banished to Ireland, though they pleaded the fear of their lives as their excuse. Lord Beauchamp of Holt, Sir James Berners, Sir Simon Burley, and John Salisbury, were also tried and condemned for high treason, for no other crime but their having attempted to defeat the late commission; the life of the latter was however spared.

It might have been expected, that on Richard's being reduced to such subjection, and
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appearing so unable to defend his servants from the resentment of the princes and chief nobility, that he would never have been able to recover the royal authority, without the most violent struggle; yet in less than a twelve-month, the king being in his 23d year, declared in council, that as he was now of full age, which entitled him to govern his kingdom and household by his own authority, he was determined to exercise his right of sovereignty. No one venturing to contradict so reasonable a design, he instantly deprived Fitz-Alan, archbishop of Canterbury, of the post of chancellor, and bestowed it on William of Wickham, bishop of Winchester; the bishop of Hereford was removed from the office of treasurer; the earl of Arundel was deprived of his post of admiral; and even the duke of Gloucester and the earl of Warwick were, for a time, removed from the council-board. These changes were made without the least opposition, and Richard for some time exercised the authority he had resumed, with moderation. He soon after appeared to be entirely reconciled to his uncles and the other nobles, by whom he had been so resolutely opposed, and never attempted to recall the duke of Ireland, whom he found so obnoxious to them, from banishment: he even confirmed, by proclamation, a general pardon passed by the parliament for all offences, and endeavoured to obtain the affections of the people, by voluntarily remitting some subsidies which had been granted him.

The king's favourites, however, soon after insinuated, that the duke of Gloucester had ill designs against his person; but the duke so fully vindicated his innocence, that the king was convinced that the charge was groundless; yet he would not suffer the duke to prosecute his accusers.

The next year the duke of Lancaster returned from his Spanish expedition, after having obliged the king of Castile to conclude a treaty with him, promising to pay him 600,000 livres, with an annual pension of 40,000, or ten thousand pounds of our present money, during his life and that of his dutchess. This treaty was followed by the marriage of Catharine, the duke's daughter, with Henry, the eldest son of the king of Castile; on which account, the duke and dutchess resigned their pretensions to that crown. Lancaster's authority served to counter-balance that of the duke of Gloucester, and secured the power of Richard, who treated him with great respect, and made a cession to him for life of the dutchy of Guienne, which the inclinations of the Gascons had restored to the English government. But as they loudly remonstrated against this cession, it was afterwards, by the duke's consent, revoked.

In the mean while the French war was scarcely heard of, and the tranquility in the north of England was only interrupted by one inroad of the Scots, which rather proceeded from a rivalry between the two martial families of Piercy and Douglas, than from any
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national quarrel: a fierce battle or skirmish was fought at Otterborne, in which young Piercy, who, from his impetuous valour, was surnamed Hotspur, was taken prisoner, and Douglas slain; but the victory remained undecided.

But while the administration of the king appeared un sullied by any unpopular act, and the government seemed, in a good measure, unexceptionable, his personal character brought him into contempt. Addicted to pleasure, he spent his time in feasting and jollity; and lavished immense sums in tournaments. Tho' a terrible plague, and a famine no less dreadful, afflicted England in 1391, the king's excessive fondness for pageantry and pomp, induced him to retrench none of his diversions or expences. He valued himself upon surpassing in magnificence all the sovereigns of Europe, and acted as if he had possessed an inexhaustible fund of treasure. Three hundred domestics were employed in his kitchen alone; and the queen had the same number of women in her service. The courtiers easily obtained what they asked, and he in every thing behaved with a profuseness, which could not fail of being very chargeable to his subjects.

His revenues not being sufficient for his expences, he attempted to borrow so small a sum as a thousand pounds of the city of London, but had the mortification to be refused; and even an Italian merchant, who offered to lend the money, was cut in pieces by the populace.

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This affront Richard highly resented, and soon after, under the colour of punishing a tumult of small consequence, raised by a baker's apprentice, he took away the charter of the city, and removed the courts of justice to York: but afterwards the citizens of London were glad to redeem their charter, by making him a present of ten thousand pounds and two gold crowns.

In 1394 some insurrections of the Irish now induced the king to make an expedition into that country, which he had the good fortune to reduce to obedience; and by that means recovered, in some degree, the character of courage, which he had lost by his inactivity.

The queen having died this year, Richard, in 1396, demanded in marriage Isabella, the daughter of Charles VI. This proposal was at first rejected by the court of France, the princess being only seven years old, and promised to the duke of Brittany; however, in a second negociation, Charles consented to the marriage, and a twenty-eight years truce was agreed upon between the two crowns. Soon after both the kings met between Ardres and Calais, under tents where the two courts displayed all their magnificence, and where the nuptials were solemnized and the treaty signed. But both this marriage and the truce gave such offence to the duke of Gloucester, that he told the king, it would have been more adviseable to attempt to recover what England had lost in France, by a vigorous war, than to enter into an alliance with a crown that had always gain-
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ed greater advantages by treaties with England, than by its arms.

The next year the restitution of Cherburg to the king of Navarre, and of Brest to the duke of Brittany, gave great offence. The English having been at such expence in aiding those princes, that they might have been justly kept till the whole was repaid. This occasioned the greater dissatisfaction, on account of the king's receiving for them only an inconsiderable sum, which he lavished away in needless expences. The duke of Gloucester was so displeased, that he upbraided the king in very severe terms, to which Richard replied in a manner that shewed he was greatly offended. He afterwards complained to the dukes of Lancaster and York, that Gloucester took upon him to controul his actions, and dropped some expressions, which made them think he suspected all three of having formed ill designs against him. The two princes professed their unshaken loyalty, and observed, that they did not question that the duke their brother was equally loyal, though his hasty temper made him sometimes speak with too much warmth. With this justification, the king appeared satisfied; but one morning coming to Gloucester's country-house, and finding him in bed, he desired him to rise immediately, and go with him to London, pretending that he wanted him on a very important affair, which he would mention on the road. The duke instantly dressed, and mounting his horse, rode by the king, who talked to him of the pretended affair,

fair, till they came to a hollow way, where the duke was suddenly furrounded by some horsemen, and carried on board a ship, which lay ready in the Thames, to convey him to Calais.

On the king's arrival in London, he sent for the earls of Warwick and Arundel; and after familiarly discoursing with them for some time, ordered them to be apprehended and sent to the Tower. The lord Cobham and some others were served in the same manner. In the mean time, the people beginning to put themselves in motion, he issued a proclamation, declaring, that these lords were taken into custody for new misdemeanors, and that they should be proceeded against according to law.

The king had already taken all necessary measures to have a parliament at his devotion, he having some time before changed all the sheriffs of the kingdom, and suffered none but those who had promised to be subservient to his design; and he did not doubt to find the peers no less compliant. A parliament being immediately summoned at Westminster, passed whatever acts the king was pleased to dictate: They annulled for ever the commission which usurped upon the royal authority, and declared any attempt to revive a like commission to be treason: they abrogated all the acts which attainted the king's ministers, and which both the parliament that had passed them, and the whole nation had sworn to maintain: and declared the general pardon granted by the king

to be invalid, as extorted by force, though after Richard had resumed the government, and no longer lay under any restraint, he had voluntarily confirmed that general indemnity by proclamation. They even annulled a particular pardon granted to the earl of Arundel, six years after, under the pretence that it was obtained by surprize, and that the king was not fully informed of that nobleman's guilt.

Fitz-Alan, archbishop of Canterbury, and brother to Arundel, was then impeached by the commons for his concurrence in procuring the illegal commission, and in attainting the king's ministers. To this the primate pleaded guilty, but being an ecclesiastic, the king was satisfied with his being banished the realm and his temporalities sequestered. The duke of Gloucester, with the earls of Arundel and Warwick, were accused of the same crimes, and also of having appeared in arms in a hostile manner. The earl of Arundel, on being brought to the bar, pleaded both the king's general and particular pardon; but this plea being over-ruled, he was condemned and executed. The earl of Warwick was also found guilty of high treason, but on account of his submissive behaviour, was sentenced to perpetual banishment in the isle of Man.

In the mean time a warrant was issued to the governor of Calais, ordering him to bring the duke of Gloucester to England, to take his trial: but the governor answered, that the duke had died of an apoplexy. The time and circumstances of that prince's death appeared
extreme-

extremely suspicious, and it was instantly the general opinion, that he was murdered by order of the king his nephew; and this opinion was but too well founded; for in the following reign, undoubted proofs were laid before the parliament, that his keepers had smothered him with pillows; and it evidently appeared, that Richard, being apprehensive that the trial and execution of so great and popular a prince, and so near a relation, should prove dangerous, had thus basely gratified his revenge, by a method which he thought would have perfectly concealed it.

After a session of twelve days, the parliament was adjourned to Shrewsbury: but before the departure of the members, the king exacted from them an oath, that they would perpetually maintain all the acts they had lately made; and the session concluded with the creation or advancement of several peers: the earl of Rutland was made duke of Albemarle; the earl of Derby, duke of Hereford; the earl of Kent, duke of Surry; the earl of Nottingham, duke of Norfolk; the earl of Huntingdon, duke of Exeter; the earl of Somerset, marquis of Dorset; Ralph Nevil, earl of Westmoreland; lord Spencer, earl of Gloucester; William Scrope, earl of Wiltshire; and Thomas Piercy, earl of Worcester.

The parliament met at Shrewsbury on the 28th of January, 1398. When Richard still appeared so anxious for the establishment of these acts, that he not only obliged the lords and commons to swear to observe them again, on

the cross of Canterbury, but soon after, procured a bull from the pope, in order to secure and establish them for ever. On the other hand, the parliament conferred on him the duties of wool, wool-fells and leather, for life; and also granted him a subsidy of one tenth and a half, and one fifteenth and a half. The attainder of Tresilian, and the other judges were reversed; and the answers, for which they had been impeached, were, by the approbation of the present judges, declared to be just and legal. They also, on the petition of lord Spencer, earl of Gloucester, went so far back, as to reverse the attainder of the two Spencers in the reign of Edward II. Before the parliament were dissolved, they elected a committee of twelve lords and six commoners, whom they invested with the whole power of the two houses, and with full authority to finish all the business which they had not had leisure to bring to a conclusion. During this session Richard brought into Shrewsbury a numerous guard of the Cheshire militia, who appeared so zealous for his service, that to gratify that county, he erected it into a principality, and added prince of Chester to his other titles.

Every thing now seemed to contribute to support the king in the enjoyment of the despotic power he had just assumed. Those who would have been most able to oppose his designs, had either suffered a violent death, or were banished the realm; and those who still remained, were gained by titles, places, and other favours. The parliament, and the magistrates

gistrates of the towns and counties, were of his side; for not one was suffered to remain, except he was ready to promote all the arbitrary measures of the government; but the body of the nation was against the king, who soon found that measures established on cruelty and injustice can afford but a slender security, and that a throne placed on any other foundation but the happiness of the people, must stand on a very sandy basis.

Towards the end of the year 1398, the king gave a signal proof of the little regard he paid to the laws. The duke of Hereford, the eldest son of the duke of Lancaster, perhaps awed by the fate of his uncle, the duke of Gloucester, and that of the other nobles whom the king had sacrificed to his revenge, strove to obtain the king's favour, by appearing in parliament, and accusing the duke of Norfolk of having privately spoken to him many slanderous and disrespectful things of the king, in relation to his intending to destroy many of the principal nobility. The duke of Norfolk denying the charge, gave Hereford the lie, and offered to prove his innocence by single combat. The challenge was accepted: the time and place were appointed; and as the event might require the interposition of the legislative authority, the parliament thought proper, as hath been just mentioned, rather to delegate their power to a committee, than to prolong the session beyond the usual time.

The duke of Hereford was worthy of censure, for thus revealing a private conversation,

which tended to the ruin of the person who had opened his mind to him. Norfolk had also shewn himself a person destitute of honour; for notwithstanding his having publicly joined with the duke of Gloucester and his party in all their acts of violence against the king, yet he had impeached his former associates for those very crimes which he had joined with them in committing.

In order to decide the truth of the above charge by force of arms, the lists were appointed to be held before the king at Coventry. All the nobility of the kingdom separated into parties, and adhered either to the one duke or to the other; and the whole nation was held in suspense: but no sooner did the two champions appear in the lists, than the king, under the pretence of avoiding the effusion of such noble blood, and the future consequences of the quarrel, commanded them to proceed no farther; and though there could be but one guilty, banished them both; the duke of Norfolk for life, and the duke of Hereford for ten years. Before Hereford's departure, he behaved with such submission, that the king not only promised to shorten the term of his exile four years, but granted him letters patent, empowering him to enter immediately into the possession of any inheritance that might fall to him during his absence, and to postpone his doing homage on that account, till his return. On their departure, the duke of Norfolk went to Venice, where he died soon after, and Hereford retired into France.

Henry,

Henry, duke of Hereford, had no sooner left the kingdom, than Richard's jealousy of the power and wealth of that family revived; and he became sensible, that by the murder of the duke of Gloucester, he had removed a counterpoise to the interests of the house of Lancaster. Being therefore informed, that Hereford had entered into a treaty of marriage with the daughter of the duke of Berry, the French king's uncle, he resolved to prevent the conclusion of an alliance, that would so much strengthen the duke's interest abroad; and for that purpose sent the earl of Salisbury to Paris. The duke of Lancaster dying soon after, Henry, in consequence of the king's patent which he had so lately received, desired to be put in possession of his father's honours and estates: but Richard, afraid of adding to the power of a man whom he had already so highly offended, persuaded the parliamentary commissioners, that this affair was closely connected with the business delegated to them by the parliament; and by their authority, not only reversed the letters patent, but seized the estate of the late duke of Lancaster; and declared, that his son's banishment should be perpetual. By the same authority, he seized and tried the duke's attorney, who had procured and insisted on the letters patent, and had him condemned as a traitor, for faithfully executing that trust for his master; but afterwards changed the sentence of death into that of banishment.

By these acts of despotic power it appeared, that the laws and liberties of England could
afford

afford no security against the efforts of tyranny and oppression. From the number of the great nobility who had been banished, there was scarce a man left in the kingdom, able to oppose the usurpations of the king. The duke of York alone, the king's uncle, might have defended the interest of the people, but he loved his ease too well to engage in such an undertaking. Richard therefore finding himself above all restraint, paid no regard to the good of the public; and while his ministers suffered the nation to fall into contempt, every means was used to extort money from the people, in order to supply the king's prodigious expences; among the rest, accusations were brought against such as had taken arms in favour of the duke of Gloucester and his adherents; and as their pardon had been lately reversed, seventeen counties were condemned as guilty of treason, and the estates of all the inhabitants adjudged to the king. In this extremity, the most wealthy gentlemen and burgeses, in order to avoid the seizure of their estates, were obliged to give blank obligations, which the king caused to be filled up with such sums as he pleased to require; and in these notes, every person was bound, under great penalties, to support the statutes of the parliament held at Shrewsbury, and all the subsequent acts; and thus to throw themselves entirely upon the king's mercy. A government so tyrannical, naturally excited the hatred of the nation against the king and his ministry, and kindled in the
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hearts of the people, an ardent desire to free themselves from these oppressions.

Henry, now duke of Lancaster, had obtained the esteem of the public by his conduct and abilities. He was distinguished by his bravery, and was closely connected with most of the principal nobility, by blood, alliances, or friendship; and as all of them might be affected by the same injuries as those he had suffered from the king, they, from a sense of their common interest, were easily brought to share in his resentment. The people, who found nothing in the king that could excite their love or reverence, readily transferred their attachment to Henry. They pitied his misfortunes, complained of the injustice he suffered, and looked up to him, as the only person able to redress the abuses in the government, and free them from its tyranny.

While the people were in this disposition, Richard embarked for Ireland, to revenge the death of his cousin, Roger earl of Marche, who, as the king had no child, had been declared presumptive heir of the crown, but had been slain in battle by the Irish. When the king was ready to embark, some suspicions being instilled into him of the earl of Northumberland, governor of the northern counties, he sent that nobleman a positive order to join him without delay, and on his excusing himself, on account of his presence being necessary in those parts, the king, without farther examination, pronounced him a traitor, and ordered
all

all his estates to be seized; then leaving the regency to his uncle, the duke of York, he set sail, and left the kingdom open to the attempts of his enemies. Upon this Henry, duke of Lancaster, embarked at Nantz on the 4th of July, 1399, with a retinue of sixty persons, and landing at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, was joined there by the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland; and having published a manifesto, in which he asserted, that he had taken arms only to obtain satisfaction for the injustice with which he had been treated, it had such an effect, that the people flocked in crowds to join him, and in a few days he had an army of 60,000 men.

The duke of York, on hearing of Henry's landing, called a council, and appointing the rendezvous of his forces at St. Albans, assembled an army of 40,000 men; but found them more inclined to join that duke, than to fight in support of the royal cause. He therefore readily listened to a message from Henry, who besought him not to oppose a loyal suppliant in the recovery of his legal patrimony; and even publicly declared, that he would second his nephew in so reasonable a request. His army shewed, by their acclamations, their readiness to follow his example; and joining the duke of Lancaster, he instantly became master of the kingdom. Some of the king's ministers having thrown themselves into Bristol, he hastened to that city, and obliging it to surrender, ordered the earl of Wiltshire, Sir John Buffy,
and

and Sir Henry Green, whom he took prisoners there, to be immediately led to execution.

In the mean while Richard was in Ireland, where he had not the least suspicion of what had passed, and the winds, for above three weeks, prevented his receiving the news. At length he heard of the duke of Lancaster's descent, and immediately imprisoned that nobleman's brothers, with the duke of Gloucester's sons, and resolved to hasten to England; but was persuaded by the duke of Albemarle to stay a few days, that he might have time to prepare ships to carry over all his forces at once. When they were ready, he resolved to stay some days longer, and sent over the earl of Salisbury to levy troops in Wales, promising to follow him soon. The earl in a few days raised an army of forty thousand men, and had Richard kept his promise, he might, at least, have fought one battle in defence of his crown. But the wind returning to the east, detained him eighteen days longer in Ireland. In that interval a rumour was spread in the earl of Salisbury's army, that the king was dead in Ireland, and it was with great difficulty the earl prevailed with them to stay a few days to obtain certain news of the king, and that time being expired, and Richard not appearing, they left their colours, and retired to their several homes.

Richard at length landed at Milford-haven with twenty thousand men; but these gradually deserted him, till having no more than six thousand who followed his standard, he secretly fled

fled from this small body, which could only serve to expose him to danger, and shut himself up in Conway castle, which was esteemed impregnable, but was then unprovided for a defence. Finding himself alone in the place he had chosen for his sanctuary, without the least prospect of being able to defend himself, he was afraid, that if he attempted to escape, he should fall into the hands of the enraged populace, who gave him but too many proofs of their hatred. In this extremity, he resolved to throw himself upon the generosity of his enemy, and sent one of his attendants to let him know, that he was ready to submit to such terms as he himself should think reasonable, and desired some body might be sent to confer with him. Henry immediately dispatched the archbishop of Canterbury and the earl of Northumberland to know his intentions; to whom Richard proposed, that if his life was spared, and an honourable pension allowed for himself and eight persons he should name, he would resign his crown, and be satisfied with living the remainder of his life as a private person. Receiving hopes from the deputies that his offer would be accepted, he desired to confer with the duke. For that purpose he went to Flint, and Henry, who was then at Chester, came to him the next day, when the king said to him, with a cheerful countenance, " Cousin of Lancaster, you are welcome." The duke then thrice bowing to the ground, said, " My lord the king, I am come sooner than you appointed, because the common fame of
 " your

“ your people says, that for these one and
 “ twenty years, you have governed very ill,
 “ and they are not at all satisfied ; but if it
 “ please God, I will help you to govern better
 “ for the future.” To which the king only
 replied, “ Fair cousin, since it pleases you,
 “ it pleases us too.” The same day the two
 princes went to Chester where they lodged, and
 from thence set out together for London, with
 the army.

On their approaching the city, the populace
 came out in crowds to meet them, with expres-
 sions of joy ; applauding Henry, and uttering
 curses against Richard, who was conducted to
 the Tower, and confined, while the duke took
 measures to obtain the crown.

The suddenness of this revolution appears
 very extraordinary. The duke, that no time
 might be lost, caused the parliament to be sum-
 moned to meet at Westminster. In the con-
 ferences Henry had with his friends, before
 the meeting of that assembly, on the manner
 how they should proceed, it was resolved to
 place him on the throne ; but the manner in
 which this was to be done, was the source of
 various opinions. Some were for his taking
 possession upon Richard's resigning the crown.
 Others thought the resignation too constrained
 to be the foundation of any right, especially
 as there was a nearer heir than Henry. This
 was Edmund Mortimer, earl of Marche, the
 son of Roger, who had been declared Richard's
 presumptive successor, he being descended
 from Lionel, duke of Clarence, the third son

of Edward III. while Henry was the son of John, Lionel's younger brother, and thus the duke of Lancaster could claim no right to the crown by Richard's resignation. It was therefore resolved, that Richard should be formally deposed by parliament, and the duke elected by the same authority. This opinion was not without its difficulties, as it ascribed to the parliament a power to dispose of the crown contrary to the laws and customs, to the prejudice of the next heir, who had done nothing to weaken his title. After many debates, the duke of York proposed to unite these three ways: that Richard should, in the first place, be obliged to resign the crown: that the parliament should immediately proceed to depose him; and that then the crown being declared vacant, the same parliament should, in consideration of the duke of Lancaster's great services, adjudge him the crown, by their supreme authority. This opinion was unanimously approved: but this expedient, which was then thought requisite to restore the peace of the kingdom, proved the source of the dreadful calamities in which the nation was afterwards involved. For the descendants of the duke of York, who proposed this opinion, found it for their interest to maintain, with fire and sword, that this parliament had exceeded their power, in thus transferring the crown to the house of Lancaster.

Agreeably to these resolutions, Henry, duke of Lancaster, repaired to the Tower, attended by a great number of lords, on the 29th of

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September, 1399, the day before the opening of the parliament; when Richard, in the presence of these nobles, delivered up the crown and sceptre, with the other ensigns of royalty; and even by an instrument, signed with his own hand, confessed himself unworthy and unfit to govern any longer; and that he freed all his subjects from their oaths of fealty, homage and obedience.

The parliament meeting the next day, the instrument of resignation was produced, and unanimously approved; but as this, according to the measures before concerted, did not appear sufficient, the two houses ordered articles of accusation to be brought against the king, to serve for the reasons of his deposition. These articles being afterwards drawn up, were received with universal approbation; except that the bishop of Carlisle boldly rose up in defence of the unhappy king, and pleaded his cause against all the power of the prevailing party. Commissioners were now appointed to give Richard notice of his deposition.

The throne becoming thus vacant, Henry, duke of Lancaster, rising up and crossing himself, claimed the crown; building his pretensions on his being descended from Henry III. and the right he received from God, by the assistance of his relations and friends, for the recovery of the realm of England, which was upon the brink of destruction. The parliament took care not to examine his claim too closely, and therefore without any regard to the just rights of the earl of Marche, it was decreed,

creed, that Henry, earl of Lancaster, should be proclaimed king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, which was done that very day.

As by the deposition of Richard, the parliament was dissolved, it was necessary to summon a new one; and in six days after, Henry, without any new election, called together the same members; and this assembly being termed a new parliament, was employed in reversing every thing done by the opposite party. All the acts which had passed in the parliament where Gloucester prevailed, and which had been abrogated by Richard, were again established: all those of the last parliament of Richard, though confirmed by a papal bull, were abrogated: the answers of the judges which one parliament had annulled, but which had been approved by a new parliament and new judges, were here a second time condemned; and the peers who had received higher titles for accusing Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick, were stripped of their new honours.

Soon after, the earl of Northumberland made a motion in the house of peers, in relation to the unhappy prince who had been deposed; and asked, that since Henry was resolved to spare his life, what advice they would give for his future treatment; when the lords had the cruelty to reply unanimously, that he should be confined in some secret place, under a secure guard, and deprived of all commerce with his friends or partizans; on which he

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was removed from the Tower to Pontefract castle.

Historians differ with respect to the manner in which Richard was murdered. It has been the prevailing opinion, that Sir Piers Exton and eight of his guards fell upon him in his prison, when the king wresting a pole-ax from one of them, defended himself with such bravery, that he laid four of them dead at his feet; on which the base and cowardly Exton coming behind him, and getting up into a chair, discharged such a blow on his head with his pole-ax, as laid him dead at his feet. Others have asserted, that he was starved to death, and that he lived a fortnight without food, before he reached the end of his miseries. Indeed this is more consistent with the account of his body being brought to London, and exposed in St. Paul's cathedral to the eyes and inspection of every observer, and that no marks of violence were observed upon it. Richard died in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the 23d of his reign, leaving no posterity.

Thus died the son of the brave Edward the Black Prince, and the grandson of Edward the Third, so much beloved and admired, for having raised the glory of the nation to the highest pitch. Richard came to the throne with the warmest wishes and respect of the people; but in every thing was the reverse of his father and grandfather. His reign was weak and inglorious; vain, frivolous, and inconstant, he was fond of pomp and ostentation, idle shew and

magnificence; and devoted to favourites who made him the dupe of their flattery. He appears to have had no regard for the welfare of his people, and to have preferred, on all occasions, his own ease to the happiness and welfare of the nation. He wanted the discernment necessary to enable him to chuse a good ministry, and the resolution even to oppose the measures of his evil counsellors, when they happened to clash with his own opinion. His pride and resentment prompted him to cruelty and breach of faith; but of this the barons themselves had set him an example during their former triumph, in their treatment of his party, except in the base murder of his uncle, the duke of Gloucester, which proceeded from his want of power to prosecute him with safety, and to bring him to the scaffold. In short, while Richard sat on the throne, he was far from being beloved; but his misfortunes raised the compassion of the very people, who had been so ready to desert him; for the misfortunes of princes generally turn hatred into pity.

MISCELLANEOUS INCIDENTS.

At this time the power of the papacy was much weakened by a schism which lasted forty years. The pope had, for a long time, resided at Avignon, when Gregory XI. was persuaded to return to Rome. Upon his death, in 1380, the Romans, resolving to fix the seat of the papacy in Italy, laid siege to the cardinals in the conclave; and though they were mostly Frenchmen, constrained them to elect into that
high

high dignity Urban VI. an Italian: but the French cardinals no sooner recovered their liberty, than they fled from Rome, and protesting against the pope's election, chose Robert, the son of the count of Geneva, who assumed the name of Clement VII. and took up his residence at Avignon. All the kingdoms of Christendom were divided between these two pontiffs, according to their different interests and inclinations. The court of France, with its allies the king of Castile and the king of Scotland adhered to Clement, and of course, England joining the opposite party, declared for Urban. Thus was Europe distracted for several years by the appellations of Urbanists and Clementines; while each party damned the other as schismatics and rebels, to the true vicar of Christ. But though this weakened the papal authority, it had a less effect than might naturally be expected: for though any prince might at first easily induce his subjects to embrace the party of either of the popes, he could not transfer his obedience at pleasure. The people attached themselves to their own party, as to their religion, and looked with abhorrence on the opposite party, whom they considered as little better than infidels. Even crusades were undertaken in this quarrel, and in particular the bishop of Norwich, in 1382, sailed with near 60,000 Urbanists into Flanders against the Clementines; but returned with disgrace into England, after losing a great part of his followers. From this prevailing spirit among the people, each pope, sensible that

that the kingdom which once embraced his cause would always adhere to it, stood little less in awe of the temporal sovereigns, than if his authority had not been endangered by a rival; and therefore boldly maintained all the pretensions to his see.

In the latter end of the reign of Edward III. John Wickliffe, a secular priest, educated at Oxford, began, by his discourses, sermons, and writings, to spread abroad the doctrines of the reformation, and made many disciples among people of all ranks. He was a man of abilities and learning, and was the first person in Europe who publicly censured those principles, which had for so many ages been esteemed infallibly certain. Both he and his followers, who were named Wickliffites or Lollards, were distinguished by the great austerity of their life and manners; and his doctrine being derived from his searching into the scriptures, and into ecclesiastical antiquity, were much the same with those of the reformers in the sixteenth century. He, among other things, denied the supremacy of the church of Rome, the doctrine of the real presence, and the merit of monastic vows: he maintained, that the scripture was the only rule of faith; that the numerous ceremonies of the church were hurtful to true piety; that the church was dependant on the state, and had no right to inflict temporal punishment; and that the begging friars were a general nuisance, and ought to be suppressed.

The clergy being greatly alarmed with the propagation of these, and other principles of the same kind, pope Gregory XI. issued a bull for taking Wickliffe into custody, and examining his opinions. Accordingly the bishop of London cited him to appear before his tribunal; but he had now obtained powerful protectors. The duke of Lancaster, who then governed the kingdom, and lord Piercy, the marshal, countenanced his opinion, and not only appeared in court upon his trial, but insisted on his sitting in the bishop's presence, while his opinions were examined. The Londoners thinking this an affront on their prelate, attacked the duke and marshal, who, with some difficulty, made their escape; and soon after broke into the houses of those noblemen, plundered their goods, and threatened their persons; but the bishop of London wisely appeased their resentment.

However, the duke of Lancaster still continued to protect this reformer during Richard's minority; and his principles had so far prevailed, that when the pope sent a new bull against those doctrines to Oxford, the university, for some time, deliberated whether they should receive it; and never took any vigorous measures in conformity to that bull. At length, even the populace of London, entertained such favourable sentiments of Wickliffe, that on his being cited before a synod at Lambeth, the mob breaking into the assembly, so over-awed the prelates, who found both the court and the people against them,
that

that they chose to dismiss him, without any farther censure.

As no law subsisted in England, which authorized the secular arm to support orthodoxy, the ecclesiastics endeavoured to supply this defect; and in 1381 an act was passed, by which sheriffs were required to apprehend both the preachers of heresy and their abettors: this statute was, however, surreptitiously obtained by an unwarrantable artifice, and had the formality of an enrolment, without the consent of the commons. In the subsequent session, the lower house complained of this fraud; affirmed, that they were resolved not to proceed farther than their ancestors, in binding themselves to the prelates; and ordered, that the pretended statute should be repealed, which was done accordingly*. Yet it is remarkable, that in spite of the vigilance of the commons, the clergy had such art and influence, as to suppress the repeal of the act, which, though it never had any legal authority, still remains upon the statute book†; but being contented with keeping it in reserve, did not proceed to put it in immediate execution. Wickliffe died of the palsy in 1385, at his rectory of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire; and his opinions were carried over into Bohemia, by some youths of that nation, who studied at Oxford; but that

* Cotton's abridgment.

† See 5 Richard II. chap. 5.

age was not greatly inclined to receive them ; and the finishing blow to ecclesiastical power was reserved to a period of more literature and curiosity.

In this reign was first introduced the creation of peers by patent ; and lord Beauchamp, of Holt, was the first peer that was in this manner advanced to the house of lords.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

